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The four issues of the journal of language research and linguistic theory include these articles: "Notes on Determiners in Chamicuro" (Steve Parker); Lingualinks Field Manual Development" (Larry Hayashi); "Comments from an International Linguistics Consultant: Thumbnail Sketch" (Austin Hale); "Carlalinks Workshop" (Andy Black); "Implications of Agreement Languages for Linguistics" (W. P. Lehmann); and "The Semantics of Reconciliation in Three Languages" (Les Bruce). Dissertation abstracts, book reviews, and professional notes are included in each issue. (MSE)

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NUMBER 80 **February 1998**

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From the Linguistics Department

An Overview of Projects and Personnel

Comparative Semantics Project: Les Bruce, Associate Coordinator, is continuing to work on a Comparative Semantics project in addition to his administrative work. Comparative Semantics project is based on the premise that language families or languages with cultural affinities are likely to lexicalize or express concepts within a semantic domain in similar ways. He is preparing a paper for *Notes on Linguistics* which will describe his work on the domain of 'Alienation and Reconciliation' in several languages. Paul Thomas (Eastern Congo Group) joined the department in August. He is working with Les on the Comparative Semantics project, as well as helping with administrative tasks.

Discourse Materials Projects: Martha Martens (Indonesia) is working with me to collect discourse materials for use in workshops, and in the LinguaLinks library. Ivan Lowe, Austin Hale and I are beginning a project designed to write a discourse analysis manual which will link analytical procedures and techniques with issues involved in discourse analysis and translation.

French-English Linguistic Glossary. In January 1997, the Department reactivated the French-English Linguistic glossary project. This work is based on the glossary originally compiled by Thomas Bearth in 1972. Thomas coordinates the project from Switzerland where he is a professor at the University of Zurich. Chuck and Carole Fennig work part-time here in the Department normalizing data, researching and adding entries. In October, Thomas spent a week in the department working with the Fennigs.

Thomas is a newly appointed International Linguistics Advisor to SIL. When he visited in October he left copies of papers which he has recently written or published and they portray his current research interests. Some of the titles are: Inferential and counter-inferential grammatical markers in Swahili dialogue, Nominal periphrasis and the origin of the predicative marker in Mande languages—an alternative view, Clauses as discourse operators in Tura, Constituent structure, natural focus hierarchy and focus types in Toura, The linguistic mapping of space relations in a West African Highlanders' idiom, Focus and implicature, Space metaphor and global contrastive focus in Tura.

Linguistic Field Manual and LinguaLinks Library Projects. Larry Hayashi continues to coordinate both of these projects. Julie Morris and

Erin Lunsford have assisted him. Larry is also involved in teaching computer use in data management courses (ORSIL Summer 1997 and TXSIL Fall 1997), as well as working on functional requirements for computer programs. During the past year, Andy Black (Tucson) has continued working on development of CARLA for LinguaLinks.

Linguistic Department Assessment Project. Mike Cochran, using a special model process software program and interviews, has done an assessment of the Linguistic Department. The assessment involved linguistic tasks, administration, training and software support. The data generated by the assessment process will be used in planning.

Department Publications. David Payne is the department's Editor for *Notes on Linguistics*, with Betty Philpott as Format Editor. David also compiles LingBits (the department's e-mail newsletter—send any e-mail inquiries to: lingbits@sil.org). He also edits submissions to SILEWP in the area of linguistics. (SILEWP is SIL's Electronic Working Papers series, an electronic journal which makes working papers from all of SIL's academic domains available via the World Wide Web. Previously unpublished (or not widely published) works in any major language by SIL authors are good candidates for publication in this series. For more information, contact the managing editor, Evan_Antworth@SIL.ORG.)

Consultant Training Project. We are in the beginning stages of this project, and have just begun to gather materials. Our goals are to 1) clarify types of linguistic consulting, 2) create templates for the training to match the types, and 3) put together a manual for use in workshop training. We don't have anyone to coordinate the project, and for that reason, are moving ahead slowly.

Completing Field Linguistic Projects. Ron Metzger has worked at a desk in our office, completing some of his field linguistic projects. We welcome those of you coming to Dallas to contact us if you need working space.

Visitors. Dan Everett, Chair of the Linguistic Department. U. of Pittsburgh recently came to visit the Pikes. Dan gave a monolingual demonstration at the January LSA meeting. During his two-day visit (September 25, 26), he gave an interesting lecture to staff and students on the 'interplay' of theoretical and applied linguistics.

Steven Bird, a computational linguist doing post-doctoral studies at the University of Edinburgh visited in November. Steven spent 2 1/2 years in Cameroon as a short-term assistant while working on a research project in tone languages. His research resulted in the writing of two papers:

'Principles of African tone orthography design' and 'When marking tone reduces fluency: An orthography experiment in Cameroon'. In the conclusion of his second paper, Steven asks an important question: 'Should an alphabetic orthography for a tone language include tone marks?' I believe this is the wrong question to ask. The range of tone systems, tone orthographies and tone pedagogies is far too great to be addressed by simplistic answers to this question. Instead, we should be asking a different question: Which combination of tone orthography and tone teaching method is best for a given language, taking the language's tone system and sociolinguistic setting into account? While here, Steven had meetings with computer programmers, phonologists, literacy department re: orthographies, and people working on tone languages around the world. These 10 days were stimulating times for all involved.

Alan Kaye, Professor of Linguistics at Fullerton State University and consulting editor of *Notes on Linguistics*, visited us for two days. He gave a forum at UTA and lectured to staff and students here at the Center.

—Lou Hohulin
International Linguistics Coordinator

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NEW BOOK BY AN INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTICS ADVISOR
DINH-HOA NGUYEN

Vietnamese.
1997. London Oriental and African Language Library, 9 .
John Benjamins Publishing, Asian Language Studies. 240 pp.
US/Canada: Cloth 1 55619 733 0 Price: $84.00.
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For further information via e-mail: service@benjamins.com. An essential descriptive introduction to a South-East Asian language with over seventy million speakers, this book provides a conservative treatment of the phonology, lexicon and syntax of Vietnamese, with comments on semantics and history, with particular reference to writing systems, loan words and syntactic structures. All example texts are transcribed and glossed. Prof. Dinh-Hoa Nguyen has based this grammar on his vast teaching experience and gives basic insights into 'Vietnamese without veneer'.

Remarks from an International Linguistics Advisor

The Association for Linguistic Typology

Ruth Brend
Michigan State University (retired)

[Ruth Brend is recently retired from Michigan State University as well as from the post of Managing Editor of *WORD*—a responsibility she had for twelve years. She continues to be active as an editor and subscription manager of that journal. She is also at the end of a six-year term as Program Chair of the annual LACUS conference. She is active in a number of church activities, mainly involving internationals and including a weekly Bible class for international women. She continues to travel—often to linguistic conferences such as the one described below.]

Not too long ago I participated in two conferences at the University of Oregon in Eugene—the first, the 'Conference on External Possession and Related Noun Incorporation Phenomena' (7-10 September 1997, organized by Doris Payne and others), and the second, the Biennial Conference of the Association for Linguistic Typology (ALTII, 11-14 September 1997). Both of these conferences should be of immense interest to field linguist members of SIL.

SIL publications were often cited in each conference. Almost every paper presented was full of language data. Papers were on languages from all over the world: Africa, Australia, Micronesia, various parts of the Orient, etc. Most papers dealt with non-Indo-European languages. Many of the papers were impressive indeed—with comparative and synchronic data coming from thirty or more languages from various language families.

I've been thinking lately about the place of SIL in the contemporary linguistic world. It seems to me that in many conferences, SIL is mentioned primarily in connection with endangered languages. Barbara Grimes' work on the *Ethnologue* has obviously made an immense contribution there. (The *Ethnologue* was also mentioned several times during the two conferences in Eugene.)

The formal emphases of many contemporary linguists, with their heavy attention to English (and other well-known languages) as well as their focus on subtle grammatical judgments which are often not agreed upon even by native speakers, seems to me not to be a fruitful area for SIL to pursue.

The Association for Linguistic Typology seems to be a place where SIL could make a large contribution through the participation of its members (as it already has done through its publications). SIL members who might participate stand to learn a great deal at the same time.

The papers at the conference were predominately in English, and this seems to be also true of their journal, *Linguistic Typology* (published by Mouton beginning in January 1997, Frans Plank, editor). The membership of the Association at present seems to be predominantly European, although well-known American and Australian members presented papers at the Eugene conference as well.

For information on the Association for Linguistic Typology contact:

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[Ruth Brend, 3363 Burbank Dr., Ann Arbor, MI 48105. E-mail: rbrend@umich.edu] ■

CONGRATULATIONS

Congratulations to Steve Marlett (Mexico Branch, North Dakota SIL Director, and an International Linguistics Consultant for SIL) on being invited to serve as an Associate Editor of *Language*, the journal of the Linguistic Society of America. Steve will serve in this position for the period of 1998-2000 (three years).

Notes on determiners in Chamicuro[1]

Steve Parker
SIL--Peru Branch and University of Massachusetts at Amherst

1. Introduction. In this paper I examine the behavior of the two particles *na* and *ka* in Chamicuro, a Maipuran Arawakan language spoken in Peru. In Chamicuro these two determiners function like definite articles in many respects and thus are glossed in English as 'the'. However, they also exhibit two rather spectacular distributional idiosyncrasies which set them apart from determiners in most other languages: they contrast for tense (*na* is used in present and future contexts, while *ka* only appears with past tense predicates) and in certain cases they are phonologically incorporated into the prosodic word which precedes them (which is usually a verb, since Chamicuro's basic order of syntactic constituents is VSO).

2. The basic distribution of *na* and *ka*. In this section I describe the basic syntactic facts and patterns relating to the behavior of *na* and *ka*. In Chamicuro, determiners such as definite articles and numbers tend to occur only when noun phrases are concatenated with a verb to form one of its overt thematic arguments. When NPs occur in isolation, however, these determiners normally do not appear. Thus in response to a question such as *What did you see?* a Chamicuro speaker could very well answer, *ma?nali* ('dog'). Given the relevant discourse contexts, this response could equally well mean *a dog*, *the dog*, or even *dogs*. Nevertheless, when an

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[1] I would like to thank Barbara Partee, the participants in her fall 1997 seminar at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and David Payne for helpful discussion.

As of November 1993, there were only two remaining native speakers of Chamicuro, both elderly, so the language is dangerously close to extinction. These two speakers live in Pampa Hermosa, Peru, an Amazonian village near Yurimaguas, on the Huallaga River system.

The data for this study are drawn from Parker (1987 and 1994a), which are the results of my own fieldwork. In this paper I transcribe Chamicuro expressions using a phonemic orthography. All of the symbols are standard Americanist type, and straightforward except for the following three consonants: /ʃ/, /ʂ/, and /ʎ/. /ʃ/ and /ʂ/ are voiceless retroflexed alveopalatal sibilants, and /ʎ/ is a voiced alveopalatal lateral. A colon after a vowel indicates contrastive length. Primary stress in Chamicuro falls on the penultimate syllable of each word, with extreme regularity. Therefore, since stress is completely predictable, it does not need to be marked for any phonological reasons alone. Nevertheless, since the location of stress is one of the crucial diagnostics for determiner incorporation (as I will show in section 3), I mark it with an acute accent on the vowel in those cases in which it is relevant to the analysis.

overt, non-pronominal noun phrase functions as either the subject or direct object of a verb, some determiner is normally present, as in the following:

(1) i-nis-kána **na** čamálo
3-see-PL THE bat
'They see the bat.'

(2) y-usmatehpáš-**ka** ma?náli
3-jump-THE(PAST) dog
'The dog jumped.'

In example (1) above, the prefix *i-* indicates agreement of the verb with an (implicit) third person subject. In (2) this same morpheme is predictably realized as the glide [y] for strictly phonological reasons (the verb root in this case begins with a vowel). In sentence (1) there is no overt tense/aspect marker and thus the meaning defaults to present tense, which is consistent with the selection of the 'unmarked' determiner *na*. On one occasion when I asked the Chamicuro speakers what the word *na* means in a sentence such as *iniskana na čamalo* 'They see the bat', they responded that it 'points to' or 'indicates' the bat (the noun which follows it). This intuition coincides with the prototypical function of a determiner. Of course this response could also be interpreted as signifying that *na* and *ka* are simply pronominal argument markers. However, I will shortly provide data which rule out this possibility.

In example (1) the first syllable of the plural suffix *-kana* bears the regular primary penultimate stress and hence indicates that *iniskana* is a complete prosodic word. Consequently, in sequences of this type I transcribe the determiner *na* with its own separate word boundaries, even though it is not an independent lexical item in terms of its phonological patterning. (I will have more to say about this point in section 3.) In example (2), on the other hand, the first word stress falls on the last syllable */paš/* of the verb root meaning 'to jump'. This indicates that the determiner *ka* in this case has been phonologically incorporated into the verb since it completes the last required syllable of its prosodic structure (with stress falling on the exceptionless penultimate location). Therefore, in cases of this type I transcribe the determiner *ka* as though it were a suffix syntactically attached to the verb root, rather than as an independent word. Note, furthermore, that in sentence (2) there is no overt tense/aspect marker on the verb. Nevertheless, the Chamicuro speakers consistently and unambiguously translate sentences containing *ka* with a past tense or completive meaning. This claim is further exemplified and confirmed by the following minimal pair:

(3) p-aškala?t-ís-**na** čamálo
2-kill-2.PL-THE bat
'You (pl) are killing the bat.'

(4) p-aškala?t-ís-**ka** čamálo
2-kill-2.PL-THE(PAST) bat
'You (pl) killed the bat.'

The only formal morphological distinction between sentences (3) and (4) above is the use of *na* in the former and *ka* in the latter. In both of these cases the stress pattern indicates that the determiners have been phonologically incorporated into the verb.

As the following example clarifies, the use of *na* with a future tense reading indicates that the distribution of this determiner is more accurately described as non-past, rather than present:

(5) u-?-yɛ́?-**na** pámpa hermosa-šána
1-go-FUT-THE Pampa Hermosa-LOC
'I'm going to go to Pampa Hermosa.'

Given the fact that four of the five example sentences we have seen up to this point involve determiners which have been 'incorporated' into the verb, might it be the case that the particles *na* and *ka* are not really determiners at all, but just pronominal verbal suffixes which either serve as the real argument or mark agreement with the subject or direct object? As the five examples demonstrate, subject agreement reference in Chamicuro is tracked by a prefix which precedes the verb root. Furthermore, when a pronominal meaning is indicated, the suffix which marks a direct object on the verb is *-ale*, never *ka* or *na* as the following examples illustrate:

(6) u-pamoṣóṣ-**na** mahtóli
1-push-THE tapir
'I am pushing the tapir.'

(7) u-pamoṣoṣk-ále[2]
1-push-3.OBJ
'I am pushing it.'

---

[2] The final /k/ of the verb root *pamoṣoṣk* does not surface in example (6) because it deletes when followed by a suffix which begins with a consonant. This is a general phonological process of the language.

As the contrasting pair (6) and (7) demonstrates, whenever a third person singular definite noun phrase object is present, one of the determiners *na* or *ka* usually occurs as well. Thus pronouncing sentence (6) without the overt nominal object *mahtóli* 'tapir' but with *na* on the verb would be ungrammatical. In some of the cases such as (6) above, the definite article is phonologically incorporated into the verb, and in other cases it is not. On the other hand, when a third person object is pronominalized and marked on the verb, the agreement marker *-ale* is regularly used instead. Furthermore, this suffix is always part of the same phonological word as the verb root (i.e., it is an obligatorily bound morpheme) so it can never stand independently as *na* and *ka* can.

Finally, the ultimate demonstration that *na* and *ka* in Chamicuro are indeed articles and not pronominal verbal affixes is the fact that they occur inside noun phrases in positions where only determiners would be expected. (This also rules out the possibility that *na* and *ka* are simply tense-marking suffixes on verbs.) Observe this distribution in the following examples:

(8) i-nehkoča-káti paláka **ka** čmešóna
3-come-PAST one THE(PAST) man
'A man came (appeared or showed up).'

(9) aná?-**na** čmešóna
this-THE man
'this man'

(10) rodolfo patow **ka** í-hsi aná?-**ka** čmešóna
Rodolfo Patow THE(PAST) his-name this-THE(PAST) man
'Rodolfo Patow was the name of this man.'

(11) kančis čunka píčka **na** u-watá-ne
seven ten five THE 1-year-POSS
'I am seventy-five years old.' (lit. seventy-five (are) the my years)

(12) y-ahkašamustá-wa **ka** ma?póhta **ka** ma?náli
3-scare-1.OBJ THE(PAST) two THE(PAST) jaguar
The two juaguars scared me.'

(13) pahná-**na** ma?náli šóhta
other-THE jaguar big
'another big jaguar'

Sentence (8) above illustrates the use of the past tense or completive aspect suffix *-kati*. Either this morpheme or the determiner *ka* normally occurs with every verb which predicates an event prior to the temporal point of reference. Given the phonological similarity between *-kati* and *ka*, the past tense determiner may have been historically related to the former.[3]

Both the number *palaka* 'one' and the article *ka* occur in (8). Furthermore, the demonstrative *ana?-* 'this' in examples (9) and (10) is obligatorily followed by either *na* or *ka*. In sentence (10) the determiner *ka* appears together with the third person possessive prefix *i-* before the noun root *-hsi* 'name'. In (12) the definite article *ka* occurs twice in the same noun phrase: first before the numeral *ma?pohta* 'two' and then preceding the head noun *ma?nali* 'jaguar'.[4] Two conclusions are thus: (a) the unmarked, basic function of the clitic particles *na* and *ka* in Chamicuro is that of articles; and (b) these two determiners contrast for tense.

The additional examples which follow show that *na* and *ka* are not limited to prototypical nominative and accusative 'case' functions alone. Rather, they can occur as well in combination with adjectival, adverbial, postpositional (oblique), non-accusative, and other syntactic functions.

In (14) the determiner occurs with a postpositional genitive phrase. In (15) the definite article combines with the name of a city ('the Iquitos'). In (16) the determiner occurs with a possessive. In (17) *ka* modifies a lone adjective ('the long'). In (18) *na* nominalizes a lone quantifier ('the all') and hence means something like 'all of us'. And in (19) the determiner occurs with a generic ambient noun.

(14) **u-hsepitakél-na** **u-ʎa?lo-músta**
1-live-THE 1-wife-WITH
'I live with my wife.'

(15) **i-?to-kána** **ka** **ikito-šána**
3-go-PL THE(PAST) Iquitos-LOC
'They went to Iquitos' (an Amazonian city).

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[3] The second syllable of *-kati* does not have any independent morphological status, as far as I can tell. David Payne (p.c.) speculates that Chamicuro *ka* is the synchronic reflex of a Proto-Arawakan proximate deictic marker which has also been inherited in Asheninka expressions such as *ha-ka* 'here (close by)' vs. *ha-nta* 'over there' and *iri-ka* 'this (close by)' vs. *iri-nta* 'that (over there)'.

[4] In Chamicuro, the form *ma?nali* could mean either 'dog' or 'jaguar'.

(16) yó?no **ka** u-ʎá?lo
say THE(PAST) 1-wife
'*I said (x) to my wife.*'

(17) i-tospihto-kána **ka** pláwa
3-make.trail-PL THE(PAST) long
'They cut a trail (through the jungle) a long way.'

(18) a-šele?-yé?-**na** tilíška
1PL-die-FUT-THE all
'We're all going to die.'

(19) y-alíyo **ka** ké:ni
3-fall THE(PAST) rain
'It rained.'

Sentences (20), (22), (24) and (26) below show contrast with examples (21), (23), (25) and (27) respectively. These pairs demonstrate that *na* and *ka* are not inherently part of the verb but rather form a syntactic and semantic constituent together with the following word.

(20) i-mak-ye?-kána
3-sleep-FUT-PL
'They are going to sleep.'

(21) i-mak-ye?-kána **na** wá?ni
3-sleep-FUT-PL THE tomorrow
'They are going to sleep tomorrow.'

(22) u-núk-**ka** kiníli
1-eat-THE(PAST) manioc
'I ate manioc.'

(23) u-núk-**ka** kiníli **ka** pah-wata-šána
1-eat-THE(PAST) manioc THE(PAST) other-year-LOC
'I ate manioc last year (the other year).'

(24) i-ʂak-kána
3-dance-PL
'They are dancing.' or 'They danced.'

(25) i-ṣak-kána **ka** likahpé?ta
3-dance-PL THE(PAST) yesterday
'They danced yesterday.'

(26) i-nu:ṣape?-kána
3-eat-PL
'They are eating.'

(27) i-nu:ṣape?-kána **na** ut-musta
3-eat-PL THE 1-WITH
'They are eating with me.'

In (27) we observe the article preceding the pronominal object of a postposition. Of all the places where we encounter a definite article in Chamicuro, this is perhaps the most surprising. In this case I understand the *na* to be modifying the pronoun alone, rather than the entire complex postpositional phrase *ut-musta* 'with me'. One piece of evidence which points us in this direction is the contrast with examples such as (34) below. In (34) we will observe a very similar postpositional phrase which lacks an overt determiner.

Additional examples follow. In (28) *ka* modifies a pluralized adjective in the phrase 'the old (ones)'. In (29) we have a generic reading for 'the deer', which lacks overt plural morphology in this case. Finally, in (30) we see the use of the definite article with a proper name.[5]

(28) y-asa?to-kána **ka** šašaka-kána
3-swim-PL THE(PAST) old-PL
'The old people swam.'

(29) w-aštakúl-**na** češána
1-hunt-THE deer
'I am hunting for deer.'

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[5] Since *na* and *ka* are used in several contexts where the gloss is not prototypically 'definite' (e.g. 8, 13, 15, 22 and 30 above) David Payne (p.c.) has suggested, following Givón (1984:381-83), that what *na* and *ka* encode in this language is not definiteness per se, but rather referentiality (as opposed to a non-referential meaning). Though I will not pursue that possibility here, at the very least, I hope to have shown that these clitics clearly pattern as articles or determiners in Chamicuro and thus the syntactic constituents with which they combine are noun phrases, not verbs.

(30) išpa?kanu:ṣape?ta i-kíkte **ka** Manuel
after.we.eat 3-arrive THE(PAST) Manuel
'After we ate, Manuel arrived.'

To complete the presentation of basic data, the following contrastive sentences contain indefinite noun phrases and thus lack the definite articles *ka* and *na*. This is further evidence that these morphemes truly are determiners and not something else such as, for example, case markers.

(31) pewa molota
good woman
'(She) is a good woman.'

(32) pewa meploney-awa
good child-1
'I am a good child.'

(33) a-?tako ta?wohko a-wakatuk-kana animal
1.PL-go far 1.PL-find-PL animal
'Let's go far away (where) we can find animals.'

(34) i-ṣwisyo-kana-kati paspatal-musta
3-come.down-PL-PAST raft-WITH
'They came down (the river) by raft.'

Returning to the complex noun phrase *ka ma?pohta ka ma?nali* 'the two jaguars' from example (12) earlier, if we assume that the second occurrence of *ka* is semantically vacuous, the attested phonetic form can then be produced by a process of determiner 'spreading' or reduplication:

(35) ka ma?pohta ____ ma?nali

The process of determiner reduplication or spreading is optional in some sense. Thus in analogous examples such as (8) and (13), it apparently does not take place. However, in sentence (12) in the Appendix, it does. At this point I will not speculate about what syntactic factors might be triggering this rule.

To close this section, I comment briefly on the use of definite articles with a demonstrative. Example sentence (10) above contains the phrase *ana?-ka čmešona* 'this man.' One possible way to analyze this combination of two determiners is as a relative clause meaning more or less, *this, who is (or was) a man*. The lack of a verb in this case is not

problematic since Chamicuro does not have an overt copula (cf 11, 31 and 32 as well).

3. Determiner incorporation or cliticization. In this section I examine the phenomenon by which the definite articles *na* and *ka* form part of the preceding phonological word. Chamicuro exhibits a constraint of prosodic minimality according to which all major class lexical items must consist of at least two moras. Since all words in Chamicuro end with a light (monomoraic) syllable, this entails that all prosodic words contain at least two syllables (Parker 1995). Furthermore, *na* and *ka* are never stressed. Given these facts, we can conclude that these determiners are not completely independent phonological items. This should not surprise us, however, since highly functional morphemes such as definite articles in many other languages are likewise obligatorily bound to adjacent words. Thus it is natural that *na* and *ka* should display clitic-like behavior and become fused with a neighboring lexical item. What is somewhat unusual, on the other hand, is that these determiners do not attach to the nominal element which they modify, but rather to the **preceding** word (which, as we have seen, in most cases is usually a verb).

A second point which is worth reiterating here is that primary stress in Chamicuro falls on the penultimate syllable of **every prosodic word**. I am not aware of any exceptions to this pattern. Consequently, when one of the articles *na* or *ka* occurs immediately following a primary stress, we can deduce with confidence that it has been phonologically incorporated into the word which precedes it. This principle is what guided me in deciding whether to transcribe *na* and *ka* as suffixes or as independent morphemes with a word boundary on both sides. Observe this contrast in the following sentence:

(36) Tós-**na** káhči ašana?čále **na** káhči
cut-THE firewood to.make THE fire
'Cut firewood to make the fire.'

In (36) there are two instances of the noun phrase *na kahči* 'the fire(wood)'. In the first occurrence the article *na* is suffixed to the verb root *tos-* 'cut', while in the second it is prosodically independent. I am not aware of any difference in meaning associated with this parsing dichotomy in Chamicuro. Rather, this phenomenon appears to be triggered by, and predictable from phonological factors alone. Specifically, when the morpheme that immediately precedes *na* or *ka* ends with a vowel, the definite article does not cliticize to it. When the preceding morpheme ends with a consonant, on the other hand, *na* or *ka* fuses with it to form part of the same prosodic word.

The phonological constraint which drives this surface attachment is the requirement that every word end with an open syllable. After the determination of encliticization has been made in this way, stress is then freely and regularly assigned to the penultimate syllable of every phonological word.

This implies that whether a definite article will adjoin to a preceding verb is predictable from the phonotactics alone and does not need to be lexically stipulated for any specific root morphemes. For example, in sentence (2) earlier, the verb *-usmatehpaš-* 'jump' ends with a consonant and hence *ka* is suffixed to it. However, if we were to make the subject plural ('the dogs jumped'), the sentence would then surface as *y-usmatehpaš-kána ka ma?náli*. Here the addition of the plural suffix *-kana* allows the verb to end with a vowel and so the determiner does not attach to it.

The rule by which definite articles are suffixed only when the preceding morpheme ends with a consonant has three exceptions that I am aware of. One of these involves the form *pahná-na* in (13) above. Here the stress indicates that *na* has been phonologically incorporated into *pahna* 'other'; the question is why? At the moment I can suggest two possible explanations for this. First, I note that *pahna* has an apocopated form *pah* which shows up in other contexts (cf. Example 23). (The isolation or citation for of 'other' is *páhna*, cf. 5-6 in the Appendix.) These facts suggest that historically this form may have derived from a combination of the predecessor of the root *pah* plus the determiner *na*. Through frequent use the two morphemes were so often associated together that the 'definite' meaning of *na* was lost and *pahna* was then reanalyzed as a unitary lexical item. When this happened, a second occurrence of *na* was thus called for in certain contexts.

Another possible explanation for the word *pahná-na* in (13) (suggested to me by David Payne, p.c.) has the underlying form of *pahna* ending with an abstract, empty consonantal position which attracts a potential suffix like *na* to it in order to fill its unspecified mora. When no such post-clitic is available, this floating skeletal position simply deletes (or remains unrealized) due to the surface constraint against word-final codas in Chamicuro.

The second peculiarity with reference to the cliticization of articles concerns the word *likahpe?ta* 'yesterday':

(37) u-nis-ne-káti likahpé?ta
1-see-3.OBJ-PAST yesterday
'I saw it (the dog) yesterday.'

(38) u-nis likahpé?-**ka** ma?náli
1-see yesterday-THE(PAST) dog
'I saw the dog yesterday.'

In (37) the word *likahpe?ta* 'yesterday' is pronounced as it would be in isolation. In sentence (38) with the addition of the overt noun phrase *ka ma?nali* 'the dog' as the direct object of the verb 'see', the determiner *ka* has **replaced** what would normally be the final syllable of *likahpe?ta* 'yesterday'. Apart from this unusual construction, there is no independent evidence to suggest that this final syllable /ta/ has any meaning or syntactic function apart from simply being the last two phonemes in the word for 'yesterday'. One detail which may shed some light on this puzzling phenomenon is that in sentence (37), the normal past tense verbal suffix *-kati* appears. In (38), however, there is no overt tense marker other than *ka*. Hence when this definite article forcibly substitutes itself for the underlying final syllable of *likahpe?ta* 'yesterday', it is thereby brought into closer phonological proximity both with the verb root as well as with the temporal adverb. In other words, it appears that perhaps part of the motivation for this process of prosodic coalescence is a kind of abstract, fuzzy semantic 'attraction' between three different morphemes which would all like to encode the past tense meaning.[6]

The third unusual word which appears to end in a vowel but still cliticizes the articles is *ma?nali* 'dog'.

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[6] A possible alternative explanation for the behavior of 'yesterday' is that its underlying form is simply *likahpe?*, which calls for a suffix like *ka* so that it will end with a vowel. When no such clitic is available, it inserts an entire default syllable which eventually gets specified as [ta]. The reason why an epenthetic final vowel by itself would not do the trick is because of a strong constraint in Chamicuro against glottal consonants in onset position. That is, in this language the phonemes /?/ and /h/ only occur as non-word-final syllable codas (Parker 1994b), so in order to preserve the /?/ in *likahpe?*, a complete CV syllable needs to be added in order to complete the word without losing any underlying segmental material. In Asheninka and other Arawakan languages a similar process of [ta] epenthesis occurs in order to fulfill a requirement of prosodic minimality. What this analysis entails is that in Chamicuro the unmarked, default consonant and vowel are /t/ and /a/, respectively. This is somewhat problematic, however, since in another work I have argued that the epenthetic vowel in Chamicuro is /i/ (Parker 1995).

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(39) i-keš-kána **na** ma?nál-**na** češána
3-bite-PL THE dog-THE deer
'The dogs are biting the deer.'

(40) i-kém-**ka** . ma?nál-**ka** češána yusmusyokáti
3-hear-THE(PAST) dog-THE(PAST) deer ran.off
'When it heard the dog, the deer ran off.'

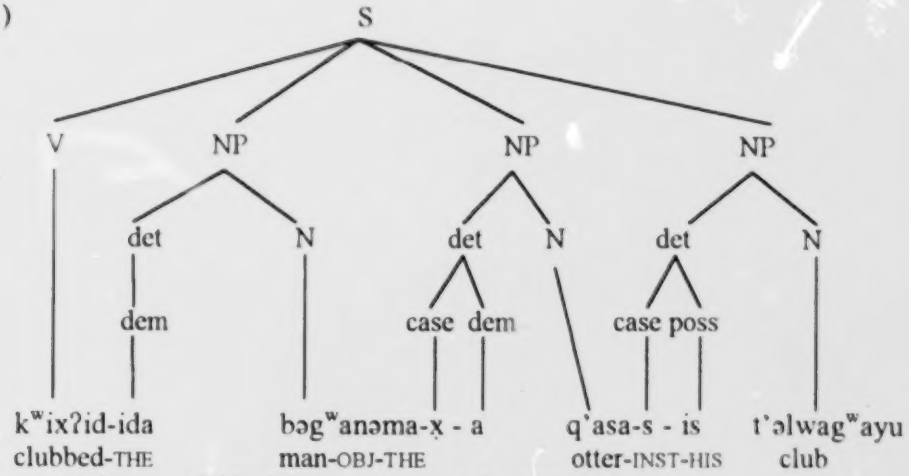
In these two sentences we have cases in which successive words are modified by a definite article. The result is a kind of chain effect in which one of the nouns is actually suffixed by a determiner which modifies the following word:

In example (39) above, the first occurrence of *na* modifies the subject, 'dog'. The plural meaning of this NP is contributed by the verbal suffix *-kana*. The direct object, *češana* 'deer', is introduced by the article *na* which surfaces as a suffix attached to the preceding noun root, *ma?nal(i)* 'dog'. In this case the replacement of the final /i/ of *ma?nali* 'dog' by the determiner *na* may be facilitated by the epenthetic nature of this vowel. That is, Chamicuro words must end with a vowel, as previously noted. Furthermore, the default, epenthetic vowel in Chamicuro is /i/ (Parker 1995). Thus, it could be that the underlying form of the root for 'dog' is just *ma?nal*, and that this final /i/ is inserted when there is no suffix attached to otherwise make the word end with a vowel.

A similar and more striking case of this incorporation phenomenon is illustrated in example (40) above. In this instance we are dealing with the past tense article, *ka*. The first occurrence of this morpheme is as a suffix to the verb root *-kem-* 'hear'. In this position it combines with *ma?nal* 'dog' to make a definite noun phrase. This noun root in turn is also suffixed by *ka*, but this *ka* modifies the following noun, *češana* 'deer'. What is quite unusual is that *češana* 'deer' is in the following **clause**, resulting in a situation in which a unitary semantic and syntactic constituent is split right down the middle between two distinct phonological phrases!

This distribution of *na* and *ka* in Chamicuro is similar to the behavior of determiners in Kwakwali, a Wakashan language of British Columbia studied by Anderson (1984, Anderson's example number (1)):

(41)



'The man clubbed the sea-otter with his club.'

Anderson's comments on this sentence are relevant for our analysis of Chamicuro (page 25):

> As shown in (1) [=(41) above], the primary determiner element appears as a clitic attached to the **preceding** word of the clause. The appearance is thus given that each element (V or NP) is 'inflected' not for its own case and/or deictic status, but rather for that of the following element. However, once we recognize that the case markers/-demonstratives are actually clitics associated with the following constituent, rather than genuine inflectional endings, this apparent puzzle dissipates.

Anderson further clarifies that this process is a late local rule of cliticization and not a true instance of Move-α.

This being the case, we might raise the question of whether the cliticization of *na* and *ka* onto the preceding word in Chamicuro represents a legitimate instance of incorporation, as characterized by Baker (1985), or merely a late local rule of cliticization similar to Kwakwala. This question will be relegated to another study.

APPENDIX

In this appendix I list a few other examples of the use of the determiner *na* and *ka* in Chamicuro.

(1) yéne **na** u-lutale-šanáye
come THE 1-side-LOC
'Come to my side (come beside me).'

(2) ú-ʔ-**ka** išuhkul-šána y-ačikwá-wa **ka** maʔnáli
1-go-THE(PAST) jungle-LOC 3-grab-1 THE(PAST) jaguar
'When I went into the jungle, the jaguar grabbed me.'

(3) uʔti skáʔne **ka** u-hsepiʔtakéli[7]
1 alone THE(PAST) 1-remain.alive
'I was the only one remaining alive.'

(4) y-akatukto-kána **ka** paláka yepačáhpi y-awána
3-find-PL THE(PAST) one stream HIS-mouth
'They found the mouth of a stream.'

(5) i-kiyokwen-kána **ka** páhna yepačahp-šána
3-arrive-PL THE(PAST) other stream-LOC
'They arrived at another stream.'

(6) i-néhyo **ka** páhna čmešóna
3-come THE(PAST) other man
'Another man came (arrived).'

(7) i-šakatiskala-wa-kána **ka** u-mutle-kána
3-leave-1-PL THE(PAST) 1-daughter-PL
'My daughter left me.'

(8) á-ʔto **ka** a-pkwači-ʔte-šanáye
1.PL-go THE(PAST) 1.PL-field-POSS-LOC
'We went to our (cultivated) field.'

(9) y-aškalaʔ-kána **ka** čamalo-kána
3-kill-PL THE(PAST) bat-PL
'They killed the bats.'

(10) nís-**na** maʔnáli
look-THE dog
'Look (singular) at the dog!'

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[7] In this example *ka* is modifying the noun phrase *uʔti skaʔne* 'I alone' which precedes it. The difference in syntactic order here is due to the fact that this NP is in focus and has thus been fronted. The generalization which emerges is that *na* and *ka* always come between the verb and the noun to which they refer.

(11) nis-kána **na** ma?náli
look-PL THE dog
'Look (singular) at the dogs!'

(12) i-muk-yé?-**na** tilíška **na** číhta
3-flood-FUT-THE all THE earth
'The whole earth is going to be flooded.'

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Report

LinguaLinks Field Manual Development

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LinguaLinks Library v2.0. LinguaLinks v2.0 was released in December, 1997. The LinguaLinks Library can be purchased apart from the LinguaLinks Workshops. The CD-ROM contains a large variety of materials to assist the linguist including the following:

General Linguistic reference material in the LinguaLinks Library

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- *Field Guide to Recording Language Data.* An on-line book by Charles E. Grimes with practical tips to enable the field linguist to handle all except some very specialized recording situations in the field. Discusses equipment and procedures.
- *AMPLE: A Tool for Exploring Morphology* by David J. Weber, H. Andrew Black, and Stephen R. McConnel
- *AMPLE Reference Manual* by Stephen R. McConnel
- *A Conceptual Introduction to Morphological Parsing Using Ample* by H. Andrew Black and Cheryl A. Black

Modular Linguistic reference material in the LinguaLinks Library.

In the Linguistics Workshop:

- Collecting language data: Guidelines for working with language associates and eliciting, organizing, and preserving data. Suggestions for sample elicitation questions.
- Doing language research: Basic guidelines for scientific analysis, writing linguistic papers, and building a personal linguistics library.
- Field guide to recording language data:
- Glossary of linguistic terms: Definitions of important grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic terms compiled by the SIL Linguistics department.
- Bibliography: A list of the references cited in the entire Linguistics workshop.

In the Grammar Workshop:

- Analyzing morphology: Modules on identifying and classifying morphemes.
- Analyzing semantics: Modules on identifying the syntactic categories of the elements in a construction.

In the Lexicon Workshop:

- Analyzing semantics: Information on analyzing the semantic roles of verbs. Definitions of lexicographical terms.
- Metaphors in English and Metonymies in English: a large collection of English conventional metaphors and metonymies is presented here. Though these are in fact English, they will be useful to linguistic research and translation in other languages to the extent that they are found to be universal, or to the extent that they are found to be held in common with other Indo-European languages because of genetic or areal influences.
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- WordNET. A semantic network and online lexical database of English.
- WordSURV. Facilitates entering, viewing, and analyzing comparative word lists to determine phonetic similarities.

Macintosh programs

- CONC. Concordance generating program for text files similar to FIESTA has no editing features.
- IT. Text annotation and alignment program.
- PCPATR. Unification-based syntactic parser.
- SHOEBOX 3. Dictionary database manager for building a lexicon, either directly or through interlinearizing text.
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Reviews of Books

Kunama. By LIONEL M. BENDER. 1996. Languages of the World/Materials 59. LINCOM EUROPA, P. O. Box 1316, Unterschleissheim/München, Germany. 60 pp.

Reviewed by JOHN ABRAHA and KLAUS WEDEKIND
Ministry of Education, Asmara, Eritrea

Bender's work on Kunama is based on data gathered during visits in East Africa over the last 30 years. He specialized in East African languages as early as the 1960s, and from early lexico-statistic approaches to classification he kept on refining his methods with each of his numerous publications. As he now publishes a short monograph on one of the more intriguing Nilo-Saharan isolates, the comparatist and the theoretical linguist will peruse this brochure with heightened expectations.

The brochure (only 50 A5-sized pages) does not disappoint these expectations. One reason for this is that Bender writes a rather compressed style, piling up considerable information in every phrase: employing mphl. & synt. abbrs. whrvr. pssbl. In spite of this brevity, his presentation of linguistic findings remains inviting, and a few passages are spiced with glances of theoretical perspectives (references to universals, x over x marking, grammaticalization). In general, however, Bender follows conventional patterns—which makes his work comfortable for readers who are looking for particular data about the language: The phonology is introduced with a grid of traditional features, and the morphology guides the reader along with traditional categories: 1 nouns, 2 pre- or postpositions or case, 3 demonstratives, 4 adjectives, 5 pronominals, 6 conjunctions, 7 adverbs and interjections, 8 verbs.

The central section covers nearly 60 percent of the booklet and is dedicated to the morphology (section 3), the most fascinating aspect of this language, given the numerous 'special' Kunama features. The rest of the brochure is dedicated to first (1) introduction and (2) phonology—then (4) syntax and (5) texts—ca. 10 percent each. One might have liked to find more on syntax and text structures. (The reviewers—engaged in dialect surveys and orthography studies—had hoped to find more about dialect and phonology issues), but given the 30 years of war between Ethiopia and Eritrea (Kunama straddles the border between both), it would be unfair to complain about the absence of such information in a brochure of this series.

The introduction offers a weighted review of the literature. One 'unpublished' but important work is missing, even though Bender was acquainted with its author: 'Sentence structure of Kunama', a thesis of about 120 pages written in 1987 by the late Nikodemos Idris—himself a Kunama. Its unique value lies in the balanced reviews of contradictory claims made by foreigners, and in the rich illustration of NP and VP structures.

With the classification of this extraordinary Nilo-Saharan language Bender comes to a strong and important point of the introduction. He rejects (with more words than necessary) speculations about links with Omotic or Basque. Given his rich experience in matters Nilo-Saharan and given his fresh evidence (of which he publishes few but strong morphological and other isoglosses (especially p. 5)), he adds much strength to the claims in earlier publications. The conclusion? Bender now places Kunama as 'coordinate with' Maba, For, Central Sudanic, Berta, and 'Core' Nilo-Saharan.

The phonology of Kunama is so straightforward that Bender considers it 'bland' (before he touches on 'suprasegmentals'). A Nilo-Saharan language with *eng* or *enye* as the only 'marked' segments is remarkably simple indeed. Bender likes to speak of an 'Ethiopian language area' (ignoring the flaws of this fuzzy generalization). Certainly Kunama cannot be considered part of such an 'area' if that would imply (a) rich sets of ejectives (Semitic), (b) implosives (Cushitic), or retroflexes (Omotic): Kunama has none of these! Likewise when compared with Nilo-Saharan wealth of interdentals or vowels (except for 'Taguda' (see Nikodemos 1987), Kunama is different.

It is a peculiar tradition of East African comparativists to shun tone analysis. For this Nilo-Saharan language, however, Bender does include many remarks about tone and he (somewhat over-cautiously) even considers both tone and stress contrastive. The transcription often shows tone, often stress, often both; unfortunately this leaves all unmarked data doubly ambiguous.

In the morphology, there are several fascinating remarks which transcend the presentation of data, e.g.:

> As is cross-linguistically usual, when both d.o. and i.o. are present, i.o. takes precedence in marking [p. 14]—many [postpositions] are clearly linked to nominals, e.g., body-parts (a subject which has become popular in linguistic circles lately as part of 'grammaticalization) [p. 14]. The category o[f] conjunctions overlaps with postpositions and adverbs and also bears on syntactic structures such as subordination. I think some [enclitics vs. postpositions vs. self-standing words] are further along toward becoming case-markers than others [p. 23].

Walking along Bender's gallery of traditional word classes, we meet some eye-catching portraits:

> **Articles:** There are no articles in Kunama.

So how does Kunama take care of definiteness? Nikodemos emphasizes the role of demonstratives, and John Abraha analyzes *-ella/e* as indefinite article.

> **Adjectives**: Setting up adjectives as a category is questionable, [they have the] same shapes as nouns, [they] stand alone in nominal slots ...

> **Pronouns**: Kunama is one of the minority of N-S languages having an inclusive-exclusive distinction [... it] has the most developed such system, having also dual person, found otherwise only in a trace in Nyimang of East Sudanic [p. 17].

Bender then presents the person-number system according to the categories speaker and hearer inclusion (S, H) [p. 18] in a way which highlights formatives like dual= long vowel, non-singular=m, K=+H+S etc.) and which shows how *b* in *aba* 'I' is special not only in the Kuanam system, but 'unique in Nilo-Saharan'. We have added Barka data in brackets [ ] where they differ from Marda. Barka compensates vowel length by consonant length.

	+Speaker		-Speaker	
+Hearer	-	-	ena	2sg.
	kiime [kimme]	1du.in.	eeme [emme]	2du.
	kiime	1pl.in.	eme	2pl.
-Hearer	aba	1sg.	unu	3sg.
	aame [amme]	1du.ex.	iime [imme]	3du.
	ame	1pl.ex.	ime	3pl.

> **Selectors**: The complexity of the pronoun system (above) is compounded in a system of 'selectors', of which 121 are conceivable—the product of 11 subjects (see the 11 cells above) multiplied by 11 objects.

> **Verbs**: The division into verbs with prefixes (P) vs. verbs with suffixes (S) is not the common Afro-Asiatic divide where P vs. S goes with aspects: In Kunama this is a 'division of verbs into two conjugational types' which is presented in some detail [op.24-28].

The syntax section centers around a nostalgic presentation of nine 'Phrase Structure' rules and a few 'Transformation' rules. The strength of this presentation is that it does present a 'condensed' compilation of facts [p. 39].

Bender characterizes Kunama as 'highly agglutinative', as SOV 'having postpositions', and close to Heine's 'type D' (p. 39).

There are two short texts. Unfortunately the texts and their morpheme-by-morpheme translations are given in separate sections, which has allowed for some inconsistencies to creep in.

The brochure is prepared carefully and the data are glossed accu-rately with only few exceptions (e.g., on pp. 7-8, *gooda* should be glossed 'sitting', and *oikeda* 'opening'). The tonal analysis is still lacking but any future dictionary must certainly include tone. Contrary to the statement in the brochure, no dictionary will be published by Bender in the near future, nor does Alexander Naty seem to have the time to do so. However, the Eritrean Ministry of Education is committed to publish reference works for all Eritrean languages, and this will include dictionaries. In spite of its small size, the booklet has a huge amount of data and fresh insights to offer. It is a worthwhile acquisition even for linguists not intensely involved with Nilo-Saharan—e.g. as an example of how to write a rich morphology and how to present a grammar utilizing the strengths of various models eclectically. The Curriculum staff of the Eritrean Ministry of Education consider themselves fortunate that this grammar has appeared now as they are writing pedagogical grammars for the Kunama schools.

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The role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax. By ANDERS HOLMBERG and CHRISTER PLATZACK. 1995. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016. 253 pp. Cloth $39.95.

Reviewed by BRITTEN ÅRSJÖ
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This book will mainly be of interest to two groups of people: those interested in the Principles and Parameters approach to syntax and those interested in Scandinavian languages. To understand the argumentation of the authors it is necessary to have at least a basic knowledge of generative grammar and its notational conventions.

The Principles and Parameters approach aims to describe that part of the human language faculty which makes it possible for us to know about the

syntactic possibilities of our mother tongue. In this model it is assumed that there is a Universal Grammar (UG) which is part of our mental system like vision and cognition. UG is said to contain principles determining the outer bounds of human languages. The variety is accounted for by assuming that some of these principles are parametrized. The principles will be there in every language but the manifestation of a certain principle will vary.

All Scandinavian languages are verb second languages. This means that at most one constituent may come before the finite verb in a main clause. The authors put these languages into two groups: Insular Scandinavian (ISc.) languages, consisting of Icelandic, Old Scandinavian and Faroese; and Mainland Scandinavian (MSc.) languages, consisting of modern Danish, Norwegian and Swedish. Between these two groups there are many of syntactic differences involving different syntactic constructions. These differences are what the book is about. Within the theoretical framework of the Principles and Parameters approach the authors' aim is to prove that these differences can all be related to the different inflectional systems of the two groups of languages. The ISc. languages have subject-verb agreement as well as morphological case marking. MSc. languages have no subject-verb agreement and very little morphological case marking.

The chapter headings of the book are: Comparative Scandinavian Syntax; A General Theory of Sentence Structure, Finiteness and Nominative Case; Verb Second Languages, Root-Embedded Asymmetries, Root Phenomena in Embedded Clauses and Long Distance Reflexives; Null Subjects, Small *pro* and the Role of Agr; The Role of Agr and the Licensing of Nominative DPs within VP; Object Shift; The Double Object Construction; Conclusions.

This book is well researched drawing from insights of linguists around the world. Counter views are discussed. There is both synchronic and diachronic evidence in support of the authors' theory and the argumentation is well developed. However, the discussion, including views and counter views of other linguists, is totally within the framework of generative grammar. Studies with a functional approach to grammar are, for myself as a field linguist, more helpful. Even so, as a native speaker of Swedish, there was value in reading a linguistic work by my fellow countrymen, with language examples—especially the Icelandic and Faroese ones—generously compared with Swedish.

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Parameters and functional heads: Essays in comparative syntax.
Edited by ADRIANA BELLETTI and LUIGI RIZZI. 1996.
Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016.
307 pp. Cloth $55.00, paper $29.95.

Reviewed by CHERYL A. BLACK
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One criticism of Government and Binding Theory (later known as the Principles and Parameters model) is that it was developed mainly based on English. This book seeks to rectify that by presenting analyses of various subparts of a number of languages. The papers came out of a composium on comparative syntax held at the University of Geneva in 1989-1990. Study of the series of articles in this journal introducing Government and Binding Theory (Black, May 1996-Nov. 1997) or a textbook such as Haegeman (1994) would provide the background necessary to understand the papers in the book for those unfamiliar with the theory.

As the book title infers, the analyses all center around two main ideas: the parametric account of cross-linguistic differences and the properties of functional heads and how they fit into the configurational X-Bar structure. Further, the research on head movement (in the sense of Baker's (1988) analysis of incorporation and Pollock's (1989) study of V^0-to-I^0 movement) provided the inspiration for these studies. The papers constitute excellent examples of the type of argumentation used in formal analysis, as well as detailed description of the data in the languages considered.

The first paper, 'The Verb Always Leaves IP in V2 Clauses' by Bonnie D. Schwartz and Sten Vikner, presents detailed evidence for a unified analysis of clauses where the verb appears in second position, right after the initial constituent. The analysis that the S-structure position of the verb is C^0 (rather than somewhere within IP) is based on the interaction with cliticization, adverbials, and reordering processes considered comparatively across the Germanic languages.

Luigi Rizzi's article, 'Residual Verb Second and the *Wh*-Criterion', deals with the issue of what triggers the movement of the verb to C^0 by looking specifically at Subject-Aux Inversion in English, Subject Clitic Inversion in French, and other inversion processes involving interrogatives. The motivation for the word order in main clause content questions is tied to the need to satisfy the *Wh*-Criterion, which says that a *wh*-operator must be in an agreement configuration with the head of an interrogative clause for correct semantic interpretation. The *Wh*-Criterion is formulated in two clauses, with

parameterization of the level of representation at which each clause must hold (S-structure or Logical Form) for a particular language (May 1985):

(1) a. A *wh*-operator must be in a Specifier-head configuration with an $X^0_{[+wh]}$
b. An $X^0_{[+wh]}$ must be in a Specifier-head configuration with a *wh*-operator.

Besides the question of what causes head movement (such as movement of the verb from V^0 to I^0 to C^0), what the derived structure is after head movement is also at issue. Structure preservation (Chomsky 1986) requires that a head only move to another head position, which must be an empty position so that no information is lost. This is commonly known as *substitution*. In their paper, 'Complex Inversion in French,' Luigi Rizzi and Ian Roberts argue for an additional type of head movement by substitution, called *selected substitution*. In this case, a head moves into a slot which was morphologically subcategorized for by the host head, and thus the slot is present at D-structure. The morphological requirements are seen as triggering the head movement in selected substitution.

The next two papers deal with the cross-linguistic properties of negation, which are surprisingly similar to the properties of *wh*-questions. This similarity can be captured structurally, since at least some markers of negation are now viewed as functional heads of their own projection, NegP. Liliane Haegeman and Raffaella Zanuttini capitalize on this in 'Negative Concord in West Flemish' by proposing that negative operators (such as *nobody*) are constrained by a Negative Criterion, fashioned after the *Wh*-Criterion. Therefore, in Negative Concord languages, a word meaning *nobody*, for example, would have to move to the specifier of NegP to be in a specifier-head relationship with the clausal negation in Neg^0 (with possible parameterization of the level of application).

Raffaella Zanuttini's article, 'On the Relevance of Tense for Sentential Negation', presents cross-linguistic evidence from the Romance languages and from English for a dependency between tense and the overt realization of clausal negation. She argues that, if the negative marker is the functional head of NegP (such as English *-n't* but not English *not* which is simply an adverbial element that adjoins to any maximal projection), it takes a Tense Phrase as its obligatory complement. An interesting analysis of imperatives as a type of subjunctive is included to support her argument.

The last three papers look at other aspects of the interaction between lexical and functional structures and head movement. Maria Teresa Guasti argues in favor of Baker's incorporation analysis of causative constructions in 'A

Cross-Linguistic Study of Romance and Arbëresh Causatives'. However, instead of arguing for incorporation (by S-structure) of only the morphological causatives, she claims that all causatives incorporate and the analytical (or syntactic) causatives then undergo a second process of excorporation. The distinction between morphological and analytical causatives is reduced to a simple parameterization of a property of the host, namely whether the head triggering incorporation is a lexical affix, as in Rizzi and Roberts' *selected substitution* above, or a root, which must itself move to amalgamate with the inflectional affixes.

Tal Siloni applies a specific version of Abney's (1987) DP Hypothesis to Hebrew nominals in 'Hebrew Noun Phrases: Generalized Noun Raising'. He shows that a noun must move to the determiner position (head of DP), parallel to the V^0-to-I^0 movement seen in Hebrew clauses. Both construct states and free states are dealt with, as are derived process nominals.

Finally, Cecilia Poletto introduces a new, articulated typology of subject clitics in 'Three Kinds of Subject Clitics in Basso Polesano and the Theory of pro'. She shows that the subject clitics in this Northern Italian dialect can be distinguished based upon three tests:

1. The position in which the clitic is realized;
2. Whether they move from the basic argument position; and
3. Whether they license a null *pro*.

This book may be mainly of interest to the formal theorist, but the insights gained are relevant to the non-major languages that field linguists are working on as well. I used earlier versions of three of these papers in my analysis of Quiegolani Zapotec (QZ), a VSO language spoken in Mexico (Black, 1994). For example, Rizzi and Roberts' selected substitution provides both the motivation for and the structure resulting from the V^0-to-I^0 movement which is necessary to obtain VSO word order, since the aspect marker in I^0 morphologically subcategorizes for a V^0 position. Further, the *Wh*-Criterion helps explain the distribution of interrogatives, where only one interrogative word or phrase is allowed, and it must be fronted as shown in (2). In each example, the interrogative words or phrases are underlined. Example (2a) shows a grammatical content question in which the *wh*-operator phrase *pa go* 'what thing' has fronted to be in an agreement relationship with the interrogative head, $C^0_{[+wh]}$. Example (2b) shows that the *wh*-operator may not remain in place at S-structure, and (2c-d) show that multiple interrogatives are not allowed in QZ, with or without fronting of the second *wh*-operator. This distribution is obtained by requiring that both

clauses of the *Wh*-Criterion (from May and Rizzi, but parameterized slightly for QZ) apply at S-structure in QZ.[1]

(2) a. *Pa go r-laa de.*
what thing H-do 2
'What thing are you doing?'

b. **R-laa de pa go.*
H-do 2 what thing
(You are doing what?)

c. **Pa go r-laa de lo txu.*
what thing H-do 2 face who
(What are you doing to whom?)

d. **Pa go txu lo r-laa de.*
what thing who face H-do 2
(What to whom are you doing?)

Finally, Haegeman and Zanuttini's article is relevant, since QZ is a Negative Concord language. In a parallel fashion to the *Wh*-Criterion, both clauses of the Negative Criterion must apply at S-structure in QZ, since a negative word or phrase, such as *rut* 'nobody' or *bet* 'nothing', is also required to be fronted to be in a Specifier-head agreement relationship with Neg^0 (in this case the negative suffix *-t* on the verb), as shown in (3a-b). In multiple negation constructions, it is possible to front both, as long as the subject or human pronoun is first (3c-d), but not to leave one in place (3e).[2]

(3) a. *Rut wii-t Juan.*
nobody C/see-NEG Juan
'Juan saw nobody.'
or 'Nobody saw Juan.'

b. **Wii-t Juan rut.*
C/see-NEG Juan nobody
(Juan saw nobody.)

c. *Rut bet wii-t.*
nobody nothing C/see-NEG
'Nobody saw nothing.'

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[1] Abbreviations used in the examples include: C: completive aspect; H: habitual aspect; P: potential aspect; NEG: negative suffix; 2: second person pronoun.

[2] The fact that negative constructions allow multiple fronting and interrogatives do not cannot be accounted for simply by the *Wh*-Criterion or the Negative Criterion as given by May and Rizzi or Haegemann and Zanuttini, respectively. See Black (1994).

d. **Bet rut wii-t.*
nothing nobody C/see-NEG
(Nobody saw nothing.)

e. **Rut wii-t bet.*
nobody C/see-NEG nothing
(Nobody saw nothing.)

Theorists can help field linguists understand their data by analyzing similar phenomena, as was the case with these articles helping me understand parts of QZ syntax. Field linguists can also be of help to theorists by providing data for languages that have not been previously studied. This is true both for cases which substantiate the theory and for those which do not fit the theory, so that appropriate revisions can be considered as in the book being reviewed here. By providing data from "exotic" languages, field linguists help develop linguistic theory to more fully reflect Universal Grammar.

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The semantics of syntax: A minimalist approach to grammar. By DENIS BOUCHARD. 1995. The University of Chicago Press, 5801 So. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637-1496, USA. 525 pp. $35.95.

Reviewed by EUGENE CASAD
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1.0 Introduction. This volume represents a clear exposition of a formal approach to semantic and syntactic analysis, a concerted effort to apply this methodology to an appropriately wide range of data for comparing a number of formal analyses and a powerful statement of faith.

Bouchard divides his massive study (525 pages, with index and references) into three sections. Part I contains two chapters that explore the relationship between form and meaning. Chapter One defines his object of inquiry (pp. 3-71), whereas Chapter Two covers a broad range of topics related to Bouchard's concept of 'selective semantics' and how it corresponds to syntactic structures (pp. 72-116). Part II is titled 'Selective Semantics and the Lexicon' (pp. 119-254). In this section, Bouchard discusses the analysis of six motion verbs of French, as well as a range of topics related to the auxiliary construction in Western Romance. Finally, Part III, titled 'Selective Semantics and Syntax', presents Bouchard's analysis of Psych verbs (Chapter Four, pp. 259-386) and his discussion of a wide range of topics concerning verb movement (Chapter Five, pp. 387-450). The rest of this volume consists of an index and a fairly extensive listing of references.

2.0 Bouchard's Minimalist Approach. Bouchard's minimalist approach is one of the recent developments within Post-Aspects Transformational Generative Grammar in which he continues the Chomskyan mentalist view of semantics (p. 4). He begins with the broad assumption that Grammar is autonomous from other cognitive capacities on the supposed basis that 'not all aspects of mentally represented meaning have effects on the grammar' (p. 4). Thus he explicitly rejects the 'Cognitive Commitment', discussed by Gibbs, Lakoff, and Langacker which states that our linguistic analyses and explanations must be couched in terms that jibe with what we know about cognitive processing in general (Gibbs 1996:37, Lakoff 1990:40; Langacker 1987:12-13). His alternative choice, labeled 'selective semantics', invokes the belief that a very significant amount of the meaning of lexical items is not relevant to Grammar (p. 16).

The background to all of Bouchard's theory is the Chomskyan-Jackendovian concept of I-Language, i.e. the set of principles that have been internalized by speakers of human languages and that give rise to conceptual structures (p. 7). At this point, Bouchard invokes his faith in the abstract by noting that

he does not believe that human experience motivates human concepts. He does believe, however, that 'rules of conceptualization' had to have been first in order for any conceptualization to have taken place (p. 198).

Conceptual structure encompasses a web of background information and situational knowledge (pp. 6, 12, 120, 160, 161, 164, 197, passim.). None of this properly belongs in Grammar, but it does interface with it (p. 254). Situational semantics, which includes semantic roles such as AGENT, PATIENT, GOAL, SOURCE, LOCATION, is also not considered appropriate to Grammar (p. 198). Bouchard goes on to exclude from Grammar other categories such as the animate/inanimate distinction.

Linguistic semantics consists of those aspects of meaning that affect the form of sentences, including their syntagmatic structures and the lexical items that fill the slots in such structures. Bouchard sets up a formal and methodological distinction between S-semantics and G-semantics—the distinction is simply that G-semantic structures are expressible as tree structures, whereas what is not expressible as tree structures is consigned to S-semantics (p. 63). By implication, linguistic semantic structures help determine the FORM of sentences, but they are formally distinct from G-semantic structures which are always modeled as tree structures that can be mapped onto syntactic tree structures (p. 17). The autonomy of Grammar comes between the Syntax-G-semantics complex and all the rest. Apparently, situational semantic structures are held to not have any influence whatsoever on the actual form of sentences in the Grammar.

The formal apparatus on which Bouchard draws is X-bar theory and Government and Binding theory (pp. 66-68). His additions to the formal apparatus that these two approaches entail include his principles of 'Full Identification' and 'Homomorphic Mapping', as well as the operation that he calls 'Chunking'. By 'Full identification' he means the following (p. 22):

> Every (morpho-)syntactic formative of a sentence must have a corresponding element in the semantic representation. Every formant of a semantic representation must be identified by a (morpho-)syntactic element which is associated with that representation.

Homomorphic mapping, then, relates semantic tree structures to syntactic tree structures and preserves the corresponding relationships of the elements in both tree structures (p. 24). Finally, 'Chunking' maps a set of semantic primitives into a single lexical item (pp. 95, 203). This is the only transformation allowed by Bouchard's model (pp. 255, 460, fns. 18, 19) and is held to be a necessity for the theory (p. 450).

3.0 Critical remarks. A full scale critique of Bouchard's approach is clearly beyond the scope of this review. I center my comments on the following questions: (a) descriptive and explanatory adequacy, (b) space and language, (c) internal coherence, and (d) a few infelicities.

3.1 Descriptive and explanatory adequacy. To begin, on pages 103-4, Bouchard discusses example (52a) 'The ice melted'. Drawing on notational devices commonly employed by Langacker, Bouchard notes that the semantic unit THE ICE is linked to the syntactic unit *the ice* by his Full Identification Principle and the principle of Chunking so that the semantic unit CAUSE and MELT are chunked into the syntactic constituent V *melt* and THE ICE corresponds to the syntactic unit *the ice*, which is said to be in the position of the external argument and binds to the variable x_i in the lowest level of (52b). So far so good! Then he says that of the constituent in the external argument position: '... it is the entity that brings about the event' (p. 104). This is simply incorrect—ice does not bring about its own melting—a change in the temperature in the immediate surroundings of the ice is what really brings it about. Bouchard himself makes an analogous statement about rivers that rise in his footnote 59 on page 476: '... it is less felicitous for pragmatic reasons: the level of a river is not likely to be strictly responsible for its own change in height'. Here is a clear case in which an analysis that assigns a PATIENT semantic role to *the ice* rather than an instigative AGENT role wins out over Bouchard's analysis both descriptively and explanatorily.

The second analysis that I have to question is that of the French motion verbs *venir, aller, partir, entrer* and *sortir*. My first objection is to his claim on p. 120:

> ...since knowledge of certain physical properties of movement is part of the cognitive system, we do not need to include it in the lexical entry of each verb.

It is worth pointing out that each of these verbs relates to a general conceptual motion schema described nicely in Talmy (1975), an analysis that is closely paralleled by Carter's 1988 characterization that Bouchard himself cites. Not only does each one of these verbs relate to Talmy's motion schema, each does so in its own way and that is precisely why the specific information must be part of the lexical entry of each verb and must be reflected in the semantic analyses of these verbs if one hopes to be descriptively and explanatorily adequate. This is why Bouchard is factually incorrect when he claims that 'the semantic structure for *arriver* is the same as the one for *venir* and *aller*' (p. 166).

Bouchard's ploy of characterizing motion verbs as non-motion verbs intrinsically on the grounds that he can therefore formulate a single abstract meaning that accounts for both motion based usages and non-motion based usages (pp. 23, 120, 172, 253) leads him to a variety of conclusions that in my view leave a lot to be desired.

Since Bouchard assumes that movement is not part of the meanings of these verbs, he ends up characterizing them as stative relations. This is clear from both his discussion in the text and from an examination of his putative semantic representations such as (3) on page 122, (25) on page 132, (27) on page 133, (54) on page 146, and (59) on page 150. In several of these, he adds the following qualifying comment: '(Where A and B = COPULA)'. This comment then states, that semantically all verbs such as *venir* + Infinitive 'come to do X' and *aller* 'to go' consist of a concatenation of two stative relations. This is reinforced by his prose gloss of these verbs. Thus on page 253, he states that all that the sentence *Jean va à Québec* means 'is something like "Jean is oriented toward the relation 'Jean relates with Québec.'" ' I am not a French speaker, but Spanish has the corresponding semantically and syntactically equivalent sentence, so I cannot accept Bouchard's characterization of the French sentence at this point. The reason is simply that the verb *venir* reflects a PROCESS semantically and not a stative relation (cf. Langacker 1987:183-274 for an extensive discussion of the basic conceptual entities and relations that are encoded in Grammar).

Another point at which Bouchard cannot claim to be achieving either descriptive or explanatory adequacy is seen in his excluding from Grammar the animate-inanimate distinction. He does this on the grounds that these features are situational (p. 134). The fact of the matter is that the morphologies of many languages directly reflect these distinctions. Note the two Cora questions in (1) a and b.

(1) a. Ja'ačúni má p^{w}a'am^{w}á
WH:QNT they be:quantity:animate
'How many of them are there?'

b. Ja'ačúni tí'i-p^{w}a'an
WH:QNT DISTR-be:quantity:inanimate
'How many things are there?'

Both the subject marking on the verb and the form of the verb stem itself are differentially marked to signal either an animate or human subject in the case of (1a) or a set of inanimate entities in the case of (1b). This is just a single instance of something that goes clear through the Grammar of Cora and is part of any grammar that I have ever seen.

Bouchard's own discussion shows that he cannot 'purge' all situational information from Grammar, no matter how hard he tries. His use of **o** = deictic center (taken from Fillmore, 1975), **w** = antideictic center, **y** = open variable and capitalized labels such as FUTURE, NOW and the invoking of Reichenbach's moment of speech (S) clearly presuppose several elaborate conceptualizations of spatial and temporal notions (cf. pp. 155, 158, 166) and cannot be assumed to be 'primitive' in any sense of the term.

3.3 A major incoherence: language and space. Although Bouchard explicitly claims to explicate the internalized principles that constitute speakers' knowledge of their language, his efforts to purge all situational information from Grammar not only leads him to the unconvincing analyses cited above, it even leads him into an obvious and major incoherence, i.e. spatial concepts are not even part of speakers' conceptual field. Thus he makes the following astounding statement: '... there must be something to the idea that space is central. My answer is that there certainly is, but that it has nothing to do with I-language' (p. 49). He then cites four factors that are commonly used to argue that spatial concepts are central to the conceptualizations that underlie speakers' knowledge of their languages. These include the observation that terms of spatial relations can be used to express temporal relations (p. 48), that it is plausible that spatial concepts are primary over other kinds of concepts in the evolution of the human mind (p. 51), that we intuitively feel that spatial concepts are central in the general scheme of things (p. 51), and that 'spatial uses of words seem to be the ones to which we are most frequently exposed, especially at very early developmental stages' (p. 51). On page 52, he throws all this to the wind and goes on to reiterate his point from page 49, elaborating on it by saying 'this idea has nothing to do with I-language because none of these four factors are relevant for grammatical analysis'.

Well, if spatial concepts have nothing to do with I-language, which is the internalized principles that characterize what speakers know of their language and give rise to conceptualization in general, then spatial concepts can play no role in either situational semantics or linguistic semantics and we must conclude from Bouchard's formulation that spatial concepts do not even exist as far as we human speakers know. Of course, that is clearly not the case and I doubt that even Bouchard intended to draw that conclusion. This does suggest, moreover, that Bouchard's own ontology is wrong (contra p. 119).

Needless to say, given all the work by cognitive science on spatial cognition (cf. for example, Miller and Johnson-Laird, 1976; Stiles-Davis, Kritchevsky and Bellugi, 1988), and our own experience, we certainly do know that

spatial concepts exist. Given the nature of the grammars of Atsugewi (Talmy 1972, 1975, Cora (Casad 1977, 1982, 1988, 1993, 1996; Casad and Langacker 1985), Huichol (Grimes 1964), and Tarascan (Friedrich 1969a, 1969b, 1970, 1971), to mention only four specific languages, the assertion that the idea of space has nothing to do with grammatical analysis and has no effect on the grammar is simply not correct.

3.4 A few infelicities. Also noted are a few editorial infelicities that are a bit unsettling to the uninitiated. On page 17, Bouchard refers to 'indexical approaches to correspondence which require stipulations of the UAH or UTAH type'. Although he does cite the references in which these are discussed, he never says what these acronyms mean. Other acronyms which are more likely to be known to most readers, but could still bear spelling out are GPSG, HPSG and LFG used on page 22, referring to Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Lexical-Functional Grammar, respectively. Similarly on page 66, he introduces the term ECP and mentions it again in a footnote on page 463. Yet the index entries only have a heading for Empty Category Principle but no independent ECP entry.

In the text on page 105, in the phrase 'melting of the metal' (59), the example number should be changed to read '(55)'. Finally, although Bouchard cites Talmy 1985 three times in the text (e.g. p. 190), the full reference is missing from the end section.

4.0 Conclusion. Bouchard's discussions of alternate formal analyses is impressive. Nonetheless, he has built an amazing web of artifactuality into his account of the linguistic data. This volume illustrates John Haiman's point that just because you can formalize a set of rules to describe some data does not mean that you have explained those data (Haiman 1985:1).

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The discourse of classified advertising: Exploring the nature of linguistic simplicity. By PAUL BRUTHIAUX. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016, USA. 1996. 223 pp. Cloth $45.00

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Bruthiaux's book, developed from his doctoral dissertation, is divided into six chapters that relate to linguistic simplicity: theoretical issues, situating the corpus, syntactic elaboration, conventionalization, functional variation, and classified advertising in its linguistic context. His corpus consists of 800 ads drawn from two Los Angeles newspapers, in four major categories: secondhand autos, personals, apartments for rent, and job offers.

The primary purpose of the study is to demonstrate the distinctiveness of CAR (referring to what he calls the Classified Ads Register), when compared to wider language use and without reference to notions of obligatory context. To highlight this he compared the frequency of syntactic features of CAR with the London-Oslo-Bergen corpus of British English (Johansson and Hofland 1989) and the Brown corpus (Francis and Kucera 1982) of American English. He then compared the frequency of syntactic 'tokens' with frequencies in other simple registers reported by Ferguson (1982). These comparisons as well as descriptions of syntactic elaboration in the data were used to argue for modified views of simplicity and the role of convention in discourse.

Chapter three, Syntactic Elaboration, constitutes the bulk of the data since the lack of syntactic elaboration is the most representative feature of CAR. Bruthiaux made the following assumptions: (1) Spatial constraints will tend to cause omission of items viewed as nonessential by writers and readers, but these are normally required by the literary grammar; (2) At least some of these features will be shared with other simple varieties such as baby talk, foreigner talk, and pidgins. Consequently the description contains features in Ferguson's (1982) typology of simple registers, including articles, pronouns, auxiliaries, copulas, prepositions, strategies of negation, relativization, coordination, and subordination.

Bruthiaux found that CAR had a number of linguistic features in common with other simple registers, although not always for the same reasons. Moreover, he emphasized that CAR is a 'simple' rather than 'simplified' register. His exhaustive description begins with the definite article. Bruthiaux considered the scarcity of definite articles to be due to conventionalization rather than spatial constraints. Next, citing Ferguson's

argument that omission of pronouns is common to simple registers, Bruthiaux noted that pronouns are often absent in subject slots in CAR. He found that pronouns were used less in CAR than in the LOB and Brown corpora and concluded that even though CAR is a written, planned register, readers must rely on contextual clues for reference rather than on explicit personal pronouns.

Do auxiliaries, modals, and negatives occurred less frequently in CAR than in other corpora, whereas morphological and syntactic novelty were seen to occur more frequently. Bruthiaux considered avoidance not only to be due to spatial constraints but also to the fact that writers employed alternative strategies. Finally, he found that subordination was infrequent—in common with other simple registers.

Although Ferguson maintained that simple registers prefer a monomorphemic and generic lexicon, Bruthiaux predicted that CAR would include many compound words, since he reasoned that the aim of CAR is to combine economy with maximum communicative effect. The data revealed that CAR was often highly creative and that compounding was fairly evenly distributed across all ad categories. He proposed that in order to maintain that degree of syntactic elaboration found in 'simple' registers, CAR required a linguistically sophisticated strategy—a proposal illustrating his belief that context is crucial in selecting linguistic forms.

Bruthiaux also noted that CAR relies on listing rather than coordination because the meaning is clear from context and conventionalization. This feature was unlike the description of other simple registers. Other differences from economy registers included the frequency of long adjectival and nominal chains which he considered as reflecting 'integrated strategies'.

In summary, the differences between ad types were as follows: (1) Auto ads tended not to have recognizable syntactic structure and commonly resorted to listing. They began with an identifying segment and ended with a transactional segment. (2) Apartment ads revealed greater creativity and somewhat more lexical diversity than Auto ads. They tended to open with a locator and ended with a transactional element, with much of the ad being devoted to descriptive information. (3) Job ads contained more elaboration than Auto and Apartment ads, but they contained less comments and evaluations. (4) Personal ads also had more extensive elaboration, a wider range of features, and more creative compound words. They also included a contact segment, often followed by a locator, and a reference to the writer and reader, respectively.

These four form-function classifications vary from least to most complex in terms of subject matter and seem rather intuitive even for the untrained observer. Nevertheless, the author does point out that although spatial constraints are roughly constant across ad categories, the degree of syntactic elaboration varies systematically according to function. Use of features normally absent from simple registers is considered to be connected to the degree of explicitness and expected interactional involvement between the ad writer and reader. The claim is made that ad writers are aware of the need to present a specific face in a given communicative situation.

Bruthiaux's observations on syntactic elaboration and conventionalization are both descriptive and quantitative. Although the book at times reads like a catalog of syntactic features, each item of his discussion eventually illustrates the importance of elaboration in context and the role of conventionalization. Nevertheless, the selection of simple registers as a point of comparison poses some problems for his analysis. Since CAR is a written, highly conventionalized discourse with spatial constraints, whereas baby talk, foreigner talk and pidgins are oral, minimally conventionalized, and without spatial constraints, the two categories of discourse seem quite different in nature. Bruthiaux addresses this problem to some degree in his final chapter in which he proposes a set of six functional factors to account for all of the simple registers.

There seems to be no doubt that the study of discourse genres such as advertising provides sociolinguistic insights within the context of American society. The methodology is easily replicated when studying a similar discourse in another language. Perhaps the primary motivation for linguistic students and staff to examine the book would be to gain further insight into conditions that make for effective communication within a given genre. As the author states, 'the ability to weave appropriately elaborated linguistic form around meaning may be an essential part of functioning successfully as a language user' (p. 175).

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One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching. By LESLEY MILROY and PIETER MUYSKEN, editors. Cambridge University Press, 40 West 20th St., New York, NY 10011-4211. 1995. 378 pp. Hardcover $59.95, paper $24.95.

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Every linguistic fieldworker has to deal with code-switching (CS) and other language contact phenomena sooner or later, and this book is a very welcome look at the current state of bilingualism research in a number of different subdisciplines of linguistics. It is one product of the Network on Code-switching and Language Contact, funded by the European Science Foundation which held several meetings between 1990 and 1993.

Many linguists assume that all code-switching research is sociolinguistics (as once was true). Indeed, in this volume chapters 2-8 are basically sociolinguistic, but chapters 9-11 focus on syntax, and chapters 12-14 deal with psycholinguistics, child language development, and neurolinguistics.

Why should theoretical approaches to CS be important to field linguists? First, because CS is in some societies a harbinger of language death; in others a sign of a healthy ongoing relationship between the vernacular and the language of wider communication. Therefore, a sociolinguistic study of CS will help determine what kind of literacy program is appropriate to a given society. Second, there is the question of oral vs. written style; for example, in our Tarangan linguistic research and literacy program, native speakers were found who can barely speak without mixing in a great deal of Malay, and resistant to using some Malay words in written literature while accepting others. A lexical analysis of CS can help determine the basis for these attitudes. Having said that, it would have been nice to see in this book a chapter on CS and language attitudes.

After an introductory chapter by the editors, the book is divided into four parts of three to four chapters each: 'CS in institutional and community settings', 'CS and social life', 'Grammatical constraints in CS', and 'CS in bilingual development and processing'. A concluding chapter by Andrée Tabouret-Keller attempts a synthesis of the wide range of theoretical perspectives presented in the book—exploring the interrelationships between linguistic, neuro-psychological and societal constraints.

In the introductory chapter, the editors give an overview of research in bilingualism and CS. They bemoan the fact that for the present volume, despite 'strenuous' attempts to standardize terminology among the various

participants, they had no success. This points out the most basic problem in this field of study—one which it shares with linguistics as a whole: defining the object of study. In a discipline where there is no general consensus on the answer to the question 'What is language?'—it is no surprise that we find it doubly difficult to define the combination of two or more 'languages'. Unfortunately, not only is there no consensus among the authors on the definition of the term 'code-switching', some authors either fail to give the reader any definition at all (e.g. chapter 7), or else give a very vague and open-ended definition, leaving the reader wondering exactly what language phenomena the author is purporting to deal with (as in chapter 8).

Part 1: 'CS in institutional and community settings' begins with 'Bilingual speech of migrant people' by Louise Dabène and Danièle Moore. After some background information on immigrants in Europe, the authors present some results from their research among the adolescent children of Iberian and Algerian immigrants in Grenoble, France. They find different CS patterns depending on whether the subjects are in a family setting or among peers. Unfortunately the presentation is marred by a lack of reference to the statistical validity of their data, which seems to be based on rather small numbers of instances of CS.

Chapter 3, by Anna Giacalone Ramat, is 'CS in the context of dialect/standard language relations'. Many linguists use the term 'dialect' versus 'language', where speakers of different 'dialects' can understand one another while speakers of different 'languages' cannot. Giacalone Ramat uses the term 'dialect' in a more socio-political sense, referring to vernacular language varieties in Italy which are more or less closely related to standard Italian (ranging from those having no mutual intelligibility with standard Italian to those with complete mutual intelligibility). Her aim is to discover whether the same principles underlying CS between distantly-related or unrelated languages (as studied by most CS researchers) are valid for CS between standard and non-standard language varieties.

Chapter 4 by Penelope Gardner-Chloros was particularly satisfying. The title is 'CS in community, regional and national repertoires: the myth of the discreteness of linguistic systems'. Here she suggests that the reason there is such a hard time defining the differences between CS and borrowing (as well as a host of other interlingual phenomena) is that much CS research has been based on simplistic assumptions about the nature of language—that is, there is the attempt to give sharp-edged definitions to phenomena which by nature have fuzzy boundaries. She discusses the differences (or lack thereof) between CS and borrowing, between CS and mixing/interference, and between CS and pidginisation/creolisation, referring to her own research and

that of other researchers. She then concentrates on her own well-known research in Strasbourg to show that within a single community, CS 'can cover a complex range of overlapping linguistic phenomena'. She concludes that CS is a creation of analysts—not a real entity.

Marilyn Martin-Jones, in 'Code-switching in the classroom: two decades of research', gives an excellent overview of CS research in the bilingual classroom, focusing on the development of the field from quantitative studies on language use, to more recent studies based on ethnolinguistic research and conversation analysis. She then discusses her own research in inner-city primary schools in northwestern England, where according to a new educational policy, bilingual assistants were employed to help teachers relate to young students from a South Asian background. The aim of this research was to discover how the educational policy actually took shape in the language behavior of students, assistants, and teachers.

Part 2: 'CS and social life' begins with Peter Auer's 'The pragmatics of CS: a sequential approach'. The introduction to this chapter is thick with subdiscipline-specific jargon, but the paper is well worth reading, even if (or perhaps especially if) you aren't acquainted with the body of research known as Conversation Analysis. Auer's modest goal in this chapter is to sketch out a theory of code-alternation which is applicable both to a wide range of bilingual conversational phenomena, and to a wide range of bilingual communities. His main point is that we must pay attention to the 'sequential environment' (preceding and following utterances) of a code alternation in order to understand what it meant to the participants. He carefully defines 'code alternation', which covers both CS and transfer, and claims that it is just one of many contextualization cues (along with intonation, rhythm, gesture, posture)—it works like them and often along with them—so they should be analyzed together. (If the subject of this chapter sounds interesting, watch for Auer 1998.)

Chapter 7, by Lesley Milroy and Li Wei, is 'A social network approach to CS: the example of a bilingual community in Britain'. This chapter not only deals with CS but also language choice—'who speaks what to whom'. After a brief discussion of the concept of social networks and some background information on the Chinese community in Tyneside, the authors demonstrate that although it is generally true that older speakers use more Chinese and younger speakers use more English, a social network approach gives a more accurate account of language choice than an analysis referring to age of speaker. Next, several examples are presented demonstrating different functions of CS as used by different speakers (and with different

interlocutors). Finally, the place of social network analysis within a broader social theory of language choice is discussed.

Monica Heller's 'CS and the politics of language' presents a framework 'intended to be useful in framing future research' in the area of 'the politics of language'. In particular, reference is made to CS (or perhaps better, language choice) in terms of Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic capital and symbolic marketplaces. The author discusses the relation of CS to strategies of domination and strategies of responding to domination, and also describes a typology of 'ecological niches' as they relate to CS, and how previous CS studies relate to this typology. As a linguist, this was the least interesting chapter of the book, but profitable because linguists ignore the anthropological perspective to their own peril.

Part 3: 'Grammatical constraints in CS' begins with Pieter Muysken's 'CS and grammatical theory', which was a very welcome systematic comparison of constraints and models of intra-sentential CS. When there is so much disagreement about the very basics of a field of research like this, it is a great help to step back and look at how the various theoretical perspectives differ. The five questions Muysken attempts to answer are: [1] When does CS involve embedding of material from one language into another language which is syntactically dominant, and when are both languages involved equally 'powerful' in determining the linguistic output? [2] Are syntactic constraints on CS absolute, or merely tendencies? [3] How is syntactic dependency (e.g. government) involved in determining allowable switch points? [4] What is the relative involvement of sentence structure and lexical features in CS? [5] How do equivalence of patterns or elements determine CS patterns? He concludes the chapter by claiming that under a strict Saussurean view of language CS should be impossible.

He lists four conditions which provide speakers with an 'escape hatch' to make CS syntactically possible. CS is possible [1] between two elements when there is no tight syntactic relation (e.g. government) between them; [2] when both languages have the same syntactic structure at the switch point; [3] when the embedded element is morphologically integrated into the matrix language; [4] when there is a 'neutral' word at the switch point, i.e. a word which could belong to either language.

Chapter 10 is 'Patterns of language mixture: nominal structure in Wolof-French and Fongbe-French bilingual discourse' by Shana Poplack and Marjory Meechan. These authors, like many before them, are attempting to 'slay the giant' of CS research, namely defining the boundary between CS and borrowing. They point out the irony that the very data which is most problematic—lone Language-A words (especially nouns) surrounded by

Language-B discourse—also happens to be the most prevalent CS data in every bilingual corpus studied to date. The strategy they follow in this chapter is to analyze the syntactic environments of all nouns in two corpora: one which is primarily Wolof and one which is primarily Fongbe—both of which also include many French words. The logic underlying the analysis is interesting though controversial, namely that the relative frequency of noun modifiers is an indication of whether the noun ought to be considered a French CS or a borrowing. The Wolof corpus provides some evidence for Poplack's Equivalence Constraint, while the Fongbe corpus brings the authors to hypothesize when that constraint may be violated.

It is fitting that the Poplack and Meechan paper is immediately followed by 'A lexically based model of CS' by Carol Myers-Scotton, since the latter would definitely disagree with the leap of logic described above. This chapter is essentially a summary of Myers-Scotton (1993), with a couple of very minor revisions to the Matrix Language Frame model presented there. The one thing she left out of this chapter was her definition of borrowing, which is clearly enunciated in Myers-Scotton (1993).

Part 4: 'CS in bilingual development and processing' begins with François Grosjean's 'A psycholinguistic approach to CS: the recognition of guest words by bilinguals'. The author describes a psycholinguistic continuum possessed by bilinguals which ranges from 'monolingual mode' to 'bilingual mode'; he describes the characteristics of the end points. He then describes psycholinguistic studies which have attempted to explore the process of 'lexical access' in both monolinguals and bilinguals. Based on these studies, he presents a model to account for the different factors which come into play when bilinguals hear 'guest words' and attempt to identify them.

In chapter 13, Regina Köppe and Jürgen M. Meisel describe 'CS in bilingual first language acquisition'. After carefully defining some terminology (not, however, the term 'code-switching' itself) the authors review the sparse literature on the topic, including discussion of both pragmatic functions of CS and syntactic aspects of CS. The results of longitudinal studies of two very young children who grew up bilingual in German and French are then summarized, focusing again on pragmatic functions and syntactic constraints. With regard to the latter, the researchers found unconstrained CS suddenly decreasing at approximately age two—roughly the same time that evidence for the syntactic category INFL was found.

Kenneth Hyltenstam's paper, 'The CS behavior of adults with language disorders—with special reference to aphasia and dementia', attempts to answer the question of whether people with aphasia and dementia of the Alzheimer type (DAT) code-switch in the same way as do bilingual speakers

with healthy brains. One weakness of the analysis on aphasics, as the author readily admits, is that the data is very limited—mostly anecdotal and mostly recorded by non-linguists. Therefore any conclusions based on aphasic data is tentative. The data on DAT patients, on the other hand, is from the author's own thorough linguistic analysis of elderly Finnish women who had acquired Swedish as adults. Crucially, many of the subjects in both groups were reported not to have been in the habit of code-switching prior to the onset of the brain disorder; therefore it is all the more significant that the CS patterns seem to follow the same constraints that healthy bilinguals follow.

There are a number of minor typos in the book, but the only major error I noticed was in the appendix to chapter 10, where the columns are mislabeled—referring incorrect numbers to the languages. As for content, however, this volume represents an excellent state-of-the-art overview of recent theoretical approaches to code-switching from several different perspectives. Any linguist (including historical linguists) interested in the way bilinguals 'mix' languages would benefit from reading it.

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Language change in child and adult Hebrew: A psycholinguistic perspective. By DORIT DISKIN RAVID. 1995. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016 USA. 245 pp. Cloth $45.00, paperback $22.00.

Reviewed by MALCOLM ROSS
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Being a historical linguist, I was motivated to read Ravid's book by it's title rather than by its Hebrew subject. Although the book is written in elegant and very readable English, apparently for an English speaking audience, only a limited attempt is made to render the Hebrew data accessible to readers who, like me, know little or no Hebrew. Roughly morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are given for clauses in the text, but these are not interlinearised, making them inconvenient to read; also they are only semi-formal, reflecting a resistance throughout the book to presenting Hebrew morphosyntactic

systems in such a way that the reader can understand how forms relate to their paradigms. Since the changes the author discusses are often morphological, such paradigms are crucial to their understanding, and their explication would have helped make this a more accessible contribution to the study of ongoing language change.

There are probably two reasons for the situation I have just described. First, the book appears to be largely based on the author's 1988 doctoral dissertation at Tel Aviv University, where knowledge of Hebrew could be assumed. Secondly, as the subtitle suggests, the author sees the work primarily as a piece of psycholinguistics, rather than of morphosyntax.

In fact, the book is much more than a piece of psycholinguistics. Its major virtue is that it brings both psycholinguistic and variationist perspectives to bear on change in modern Hebrew. Central to the study was the administration of a test instrument to a population ranging from three years old to adulthood and classified by socioeconomic status. This questionnaire set out to test a number of morphosyntactic features which the author knew are often produced in a non-standard way by Israeli Hebrew speakers: they included a number of points of verbal and nominal morphology, case-marked pronouns, verb-governed prepositions and subject-verb concord. This experimental study was supplemented by longitudinal records of the author's two children over about eight years, by samples of recorded free speech, and by the author's notes made over eight-years of tutoring students in Hebrew in Israeli schools and colleges. The result is that the author is able to distinguish clearly which 'changes' are simply the transient deviations of childhood, which are deviations which tend to be retained by adult speakers of low socioeconomic status, and which are areas of language change permeating most of the population.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first summarizes the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language—that as a revived language Modern Hebrew is in a unique situation: its acquisition by its first modern native speakers was akin to creolisation, yet the input was not a pidgin but a language with fully developed syntax and a very rich morphology. An important linguistic factor in the revival of Hebrew was that many of its first (non-native) speakers applied to it an eastern European rather than a Semitic phonology, with the result that a number of crucial phonemic distinctions in Biblical Hebrew are absent from the speech of a substantial majority of modern speakers.

Chapters 2 and 3 describe approaches referred to above and summarise their results. As one might expect, normative responses increased with age and were associated with higher socioeconomic status. Lower-status speakers

simply did not progress beyond the level of younger speakers from higher-status groups. Several morphological alternations, some morphologically exceptional lexical items, and subject-verb agreement (especially where the verb precedes the subject) were found to be unstable across the population, whilst other features varied more with age or more with status. Finally, some categories conformed to normative requirements for most speakers.

Chapter 4, short though it is, was for me the centrepiece of the book. The author takes up the point that loss of phonemic distinctions has had the effect of rendering some of the paradigmatic relationships within Hebrew morphology quite opaque for modern speakers, resulting in 'errors'—that is, deviations from the norms inherited from Biblical Hebrew. It is largely this opacity which is triggering morphological change right across the Israeli population. Chapters 5 and 6 are an examination of the mechanisms which underlie these changes. In chapter 5 the writer looks at the developmental and psycholinguistic principles inherent in the changes, whilst chapter 6 presents the notion of 'cost'—to the effect that changes will win through if they are locally beneficial (e.g. contribute to the formal or semantic transparency of the system) but do not upset the major systems of the language, but will be rejected if they cause too much upset in other systems. The brief final chapter pulls together the threads of the whole work.

Chapters 5 and 6 contain some questionable assumptions. These arise in part from the author's tendency to give numerous references to previous scholars but quoting their views rather uncritically. For example (pp. 124-5), the claim is cited that SVO is the final destination of all diachronic drift. As others have pointed out, if this were so, then all the world's languages would long since have moved to SVO order—but they haven't. The concept of Language as an evolutionary entity is quoted on p. 132 (and developed in some measure in the rest of chapter 6), a concept which is at best a poor analogy since language is not a creature and has no existence without speakers and hearers (see Ross and Durie 1996) and which is inappropriate anyway in the light of the author's discussion of why **speakers** reject changes. The author's concept of 'cost' needs to be questioned in a different way. While the application of 'cost' to Modern Hebrew may be eminently reasonable, the exposition presupposes that it is a deciding factor in change in all languages—data from other languages make it clear that this is not so. There are languages whose speakers accept, and perhaps even foster, opacity because they do not want to be understood by people outside their group (Andersen 1988, Thurston 1994). The cost factor is surely relevant in Modern Hebrew because Israel is a relatively new nation state and there is a popular commitment to the use of Hebrew not only to foster national identity but also as the medium of communication across a diverse population.

'Cost' needs to be evaluated sociolinguistically as well as morphosyntactically.

The book is well presented. I found no typographic errors. It has subject and author indexes, and the appendices contain materials used in the study. I believe that this book is a worthwhile contribution to the study of language change in progress, but readers not fluent in Hebrew who want to gain a close understanding of all the processes of morphosyntactic change that are described will need to have a grammar of Modern Hebrew beside them.

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Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing, and identification. By ANNE LOBECK. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016. 1995. 210 pp. Cloth $45.00.

Reviewed by DAVID WEBER
SIL—Peru Branch

1. **Some background.** Some of the most fascinating—and revealing—aspects of language are those for which communication is achieved without explicit phonological material. For example, in *Socrates, drank the hemlock and [e$_i$] died* we know quite automatically, by virtue of our grammar, that the empty category in the second clause refers to Socrates. Chomsky recognized that empty categories exist entirely as a product of the grammatical system and that, consequently, focusing on them could lead to deeper insights than had the study of overt categories. The results of the Chomskian research program have been a profoundly better understanding of the nature of language.

There are two fundamental issues regarding empty categories: (1) where do they occur, and (2) to what do they refer. After all, they would have no

utility if speakers did not know where they occurred nor, upon seeing one, could not identify the intended referent. Without a strong system, what would stop a speaker from interpreting *John went to town* as **John [e] went to town* where the empty category refers to *a cake*?

The basic answer to the first question is that empty categories must be adjacent (or very close) to some lexical material (a 'governor') that 'licenses' their presence. For example, in *What$_i$ did you see [e$_i$]?* the verb *see* is a governor licensing the empty category that follows. Of course, there are different ways this basic idea is implemented. Lobeck adopts Rizzi's Revised Minimality theory (for reasons given on page 19), within which licensing can be generalized beyond nominal categories.

The basic answer to the second question is more complicated because there are different kinds of empty categories: A 'trace' is an empty category left behind by movement, as in *What$_i$ did you see [e$_i$]?* An 'arbitrary' pronoun is one the reference of which is not determined by co-reference to another element of the sentence, as in *[e] to err is human.* A PRO is an empty pronoun, behaving much like overt pronouns such as *he*; however, PRO is generally found only in languages that have a rich agreement system, for example in Spanish, as in *[e] lo comió* 'He ate it'. Further, we do not just want to understand the referential properties of empty categories, but to find a general analysis for pronouns (*he, she, him, them*), anaphors (himself), and other referring expressions (*the mailman*).

The general answer to the second fundamental question is the binding theory, distilled in the following three points. (Here I am grossly paraphrasing because the technical terms and their definitions would take us too far afield.)

1. Anaphors (whether lexical like *himself* or empty) must be co-referential to something structurally 'higher' (to use a tree metaphor) and not too far away. For example, in *John$_i$ [loves himself$_i$]*, *John* is structurally higher and not too far away, so *himself* refers to *John*.
2. A pronominal cannot be co-referential with something structurally higher that is too close. For example, **John$_i$ wants [him$_i$ to go]* is ill-formed because *John* is too close to *him* for the latter to refer to the former (as indicated by the subscript). By contrast, in *thinks [Mary wants [him$_i$ to go]]* the co-reference is fine because *John* is suitably distant from *him*.
3. A referring expression cannot be tied referentially to a structurally higher element. For example, **John$_i$ saw the milkman$_i$* is not possible because *the milkman$_i$* may not be co-referential with *John*. (*John$_i$ saw the milkman$_j$* is, of course, perfectly acceptable.)

(Of course, what I have paraphrased as 'structurally higher' and 'too close/far' have very precise technical definitions.)

The theories of government (licensing) and binding (reference resolution) have been applied mostly to nominal elements: noun phrases, pronouns, anaphors, and the empty categories that behave these. Lobeck shows that these theories can be extended to 'non-NP' empty categories, yielding an illuminating analysis of ellipsis.

2. All sorts of omissions. Lobeck gives valuable summaries of previous work on all sorts of 'omission' phenomena. (Indeed it is a gold mine of references.) Here are a few examples from Lobeck, with the generally accepted label for the phenomenon.

VP Ellipsis.

Because [$_S$Pavaroti couldn't [$_{VP}$e]], they asked Domingo to sing the part.
John talked to Bill but Mary didn't [e].
Mary will meet Bill at Berkeley because she didn't [e] at Harvard.

Ellipsis in NP

Although John's friends were late at the rally, [$_{NP}$Mary's [e]] arrived on time.
John calls on these students because he is irritated with [$_{NP}$those [e]].
We tasted many wines, and I thought that [$_{NP}$some [e]] were extremely dry.

Sluicing

We want to invite someone, but we don't know [$_{S'}$ who [e]].
We know someone bought the Van Gogh, even though we aren't sure [$_{S'}$ who [e]].
Linda tells me she is going on vacation, but [$_{S'}$ when [e] is still unclear].

Gapping

Mary met Bill at Berkeley and Sue [e] at Harvard.

Stripping

Jane gave presents to John, but not [e] to Geoff.
Jane loves to study rocks, and [e] geography too.
Jane loves to study rocks, and John [e] too.

Comparative Deletion

Herbert is more understanding than Mathilda is [e].

Comparative Subdeletion

Herbert is more understanding than he is [e] intelligent.

Null Complement Anaphora

Someone had to let the dog out, and John volunteered [e].
Mary wanted to win the race and she succeeded [e].

3. Ellipsis. Out of the various types of 'omission' phenomena mentioned in the previous section, Lobeck identifies the first three—VP Ellipsis, Ellipsis in NP, and Sluicing—as a single phenomenon, 'ellipsis', which has the following properties:

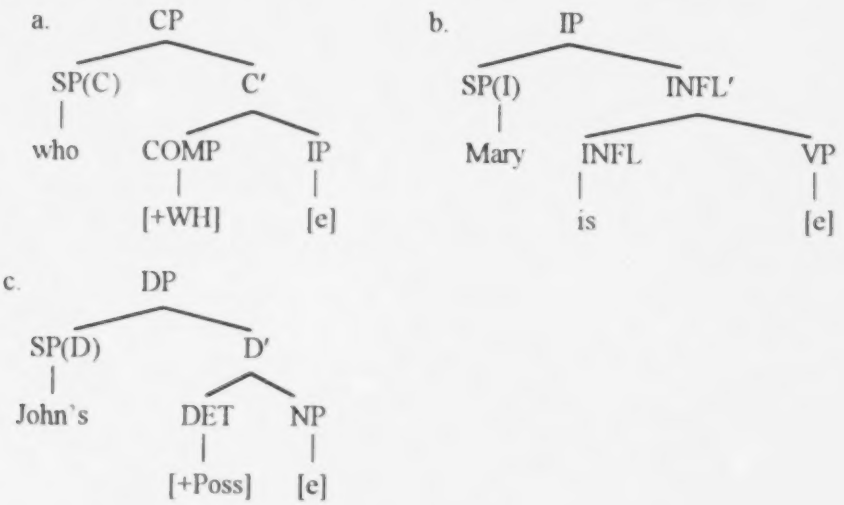
a. An ellipsis can be phrase final.
b. An ellipsis can occur in either a subordinate or coordinate clause separate from that containing its antecedent.
c. Ellipsis obeys the Backward Anaphora Constraint.
d. Ellipsis operates on phrasal categories.
e. Ellipsis occurs across utterance boundaries.
f. Ellipsis violates the Complex NP Constraint.
g. An ellipsis can have a pragmatic antecedent.

Lobeck demonstrates that ellipsis differs from both gapping and stripping. Her major claim is that ellipses are 'empty "non-NP" pronominals' (section 1.3), that they 'pattern with ordinary pronominal NPs' (p. 30), and that they are base generated and 'identified through reconstruction' (section 1.4).

She presents arguments for preferring reconstruction over a deletion-under-identity approach. The difference is that the former leaves the problem of identifying the content of the empty category to interpretation, while the latter builds it into the structure. To mention just one case, in *John visits his children and Bill* $[_{VP}\ [_{V}\ e]\ [_{NP}\ e]]$ *does too* the deletion-under-identity approach would end up having Bill visit John's children, whereas reconstruction allows the interpretation that Bill visits his own children.

4. Functional heads and strong agreement. In years of old, heads were simply overt lexical categories like nouns and verbs. In the last decade 'functional heads'—like INFL (inflection), COMP (complementizer) and DET (determiner)—have proven to have great explanatory value. Lobeck states (p. 50): 'Within this version of phrase structure, the set of well-formed ellipted categories in English are analyzed as the complements of the functional heads COMP, INFL, and DET' as in the following:

(42)



Given that elipted categories are 'identified through reconstruction', how does the interpretive component of the grammar know that an empty category is present, and how does it know how to 'reconstruct' it? The pivotal concept in Lobeck's theory is 'strong agreement': the richer the set of agreement features associated with an empty category, the more 'visible' it is to the grammar, and the more reconstructible it is. This is not too surprising for nominals where agreement features are person, number, gender ... whatever the language affords. Lobeck shows that the same principle works for complements to INFL and COMP: the features for INFL are [+Tense, +AGR]; for COMP there is [+WH]. So the essential condition for ellipsis is that the governor of the ellipted category must be specified for strong agreement (i.e. the governor must give clues as to the identity of the phantom.)

Lobeck demonstrates that her analysis of ellipsis applies straightforwardly to both German and French. But, of course, the same phrases cannot be ellipted in English, German, and French. Lobeck has an elegant explanation for the differences in terms of what constitutes 'strong agreement'. For nominals, English has a rather weak agreement system, so it only takes one feature to count as strong agreement. German has a very strong agreement system, so requires two or three features depending on which structure is in question, to constitute strong agreement. French's agreement system is stronger than that of English but not as strong as that of German; two features suffice for strong agreement, and thus can be explained the differences in ellipsis between these languages. Simple and satisfying!

There is, or course, much more in this book than can be summarized here. Lobeck deals with VP ellipsis in English, French, and German tensed clauses (chapter 5) and VP ellipsis in English infinitives (chapter 6).

5. Conclusion. This book is marvelous—it gives an elegant analysis for an amazing range of complicated data in various languages. The leading ideas are intuitively appealing and their implementation deploys the concepts and notation of modern grammatical theory to achieve descriptive coverage and explanation within the assumptions of grammatical theory. This book is very technical and it must be. Fortunately it is clearly written and provides many examples and phrase structure trees. Those who have read an introduction to Government and Binding theory will have no trouble reading it; those unfamiliar with GB should not begin with this book. This book meets the high standards of the Oxford University Press—it has clear organization, a useful index, an impressive bibliography; it was carefully edited and attractively typeset.

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NEW BOOK

THOMAS E. PAYNE
Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists.
1997. Cambridge University Press. 300 pp.

Hardback	0-521-58224-5	$64.95.
Paperback	0-521-58805-7	$24.95.

Residents of the United States, Canada, and Mexico may phone (1-800-872-7423) to order. This book is a guide for linguistic fieldworkers who wish to write a description of the morphology and syntax of one of the world's many under-documented languages. It offers readers who work through it one possible outline for a grammatical description, with many questions designed to help them address the key topics. Appendices offer guidance on text and elicited data, and on sample reference grammars that readers might wish to consult. This will be a valuable resource to anyone engaged in linguistic fieldwork.

Contents: Introduction. 1. Demographic and ethnographic information; 2. Morphological typology; 3. Grammatical categories; 4. Constituent order typology; 5. Noun and noun-phrase operations; 6. Predicate nominals and related constructions; 7. Grammatical relations; 8. Voice and valence adjusting operations; 9. Other verb and verb-phrase operations; 10. Pragmatically marked structures; 11. Clause combinations; 12. Conclusions: The language in use; Appendix 1: On text and elicited data; Appendix 2: Sample reference grammars; References; Indexes.

NOTES ON *LINGUISTICS*

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From the Linguistics Department

Preface to 'Thumbnail Sketch'

Last year I consulted with a young field linguistics team temporarily back in the US. During the course of our meetings, Bryan and Lois Varenkamp showed me a set of materials by Austin Hale which he had used in a grammar workshop they had attended. As I looked through the materials, I was reminded of the fact that Austin and Margrit Hale had joined us in the Philippines in 1976 when I was Coordinator of Technical Studies. Austin, through his consulting, contributed greatly to the high quality of linguistic analysis and papers that were produced in our Branch during the years of his membership.

One of Austin's emphases at that time was using texts for grammatical analysis. I was pleased to see he is still emphasizing text analysis in his new materials. The brief 'Thumbnail Sketch' commentary in this issue of *Notes on Linguistics* is an excerpt from those new materials. Austin is continuing to work on the materials; at this time there are chapters on constructing trees, charting constructions, nonfinal clauses, nominals, auxiliaries, and complements. He uses Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language, for his illustrative data.

I hope this article will encourage field workers to do text analysis and help them to organize their work into sections that are easy to handle on an on-going basis.

—Lou Hohulin, International Linguistics Coordinator

Book Reviews, Review Articles and Book Notices

Notes on Linguistics has over the past couple of years accumulated a backlog of book reviews awaiting publication. In recent years publishers have been sending us a greater number of books for review. We have also indicated our willingness to request complimentary review copies for other newly published books when readers indicate to us that they consider a book to be of particular relevance to field linguists, and that they are willing to do the review. The result has meant more book reviews to be published.

A survey of some *NOLx* subscribers, a few years ago, indicated that book reviews were among the most desired features of the journal. But there were also comments indicating that some reviews of books that were of the most widespread interest to field linguists were not sufficiently informative, while

some book reviews on topics of the least widespread interest had too much space in *NOLx* devoted to them.

To address these issues, while still remaining within our present 60 page format, *NOLx* will now publish book reviews and notices in three different formats. Reviews that are deemed to be of the greatest interest to field linguists will occasionally be allowed to approach article length, and will be presented in a section entitled 'Review Article(s)'.

Toward the other extreme are those which treat books of the least widespread interest to our *NOLx* readers—such as those that are mainly relevant to a particular area of the world or those that are on topics somewhat tangential to field linguistics per se (second language acquisition, computational linguistics, and highly theoretical works on main Indo-European languages like English, French, Spanish). Reviews of this sort will now be published electronically in their entirety in the LingBits area of SIL's Internet Mailserver. They will be available for automated retrieval by any e-mail user, or can be accessed by Internet browsers. The new 'Book Notice' section of *NOLx* (see p. 57 in this issue) will give a one-paragraph book notice, excerpted from the review. That notice will also indicate how the full version of the electronic review can be accessed.

Books that fall somewhere between these two extremes will continue to be published in the 'Book Review' section of *NOLx*.

Reviews submitted to *NOLx* are refereed by International Consultants and others to assist the Editor in determining the appropriate section for them in *NOLx*, and to make their content more to the satisfaction of our readers.

—David Payne, Editor

Errata

Ellipsis: Functional heads, licensing, and identification
by Anne Lobeck
Reviewed by David Weber—*NOLx* 80

In GB there is a distinction between PRO and pro. The former is the subject of infinitives, e.g. 'PRO to err is human', 'John wants PRO to go'. The latter is the empty category found in languages such as Spanish, e.g. *pro ha ido, pro piensa que pro ha ido.*

In the fourth paragraph of this review there are two cases of pro that were changed to PRO (typeset in small caps). These should have been printed in the lower case.

Comments from an International Linguistics Consultant

Thumbnail sketch

Austin Hale
SIL—South Asia Group

The idea of producing thumbnail linguistic sketches has been an interest of mine for quite some time. The first indication of this interest appeared in Hale (1978). In the 70's I started a thumbnail sketch of Newari using Grimes-type networks as the basis for an outline. In January 1996 I started a series of short installments describing work I was doing on my thumbnail sketch of Newari, to help others in Nepal working on Tibeto-Burman languages begin to understand and apply the approach.

A. Aims

The idea of a thumbnail sketch is to construct an overview of the structure of a language with the following characteristics:

1. **Highlights discourse functions:** The sketch seeks to relate the lower levels of phonology, morphology, and grammar to discourse. Options at the lower levels provide the meaningful choices at higher levels. It assumes that language structure makes functional sense.

2. **Surface-oriented:** The organization of the sketch reflects the surface structure of the language. It summarizes what one knows at a given point. It is in the nature of a reference grammar. It seeks to organize the phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse of the language on an ongoing basis.

3. **Modular:** The organization of the sketch is modular: new sections can be added without continually needing to rewrite sections previously written. It seeks to make the construction of a reference grammar as do-able, piece by piece, as is a dictionary, which consists of highly modular lexical entries.

4. **Well-exemplified:** Every statement made about the language is illustrated. Illustrations sensitive to naturalness judgments are drawn preferably from natural text. Illustrations that demonstrate contrasts

(acceptable/nonacceptable) will often need to be based upon elicited utterances.

5. **Theory-neutral:** The sketch aims to be theoretically neutral in the sense that it should deal well with the facts that any theory needs to account for. The presentation should not presuppose expert knowledge of any particular theory. Its overview of the facts and regularities should be useful and accessible to anyone who undertakes a more abstract theoretical account of the language. Insights from any theory are welcome, provided that they are clearly exemplified and can be briefly explained for the non-specialist audience to which thumbnail sketches are addressed.

6. **Easy storage and retrieval:** The organization of the sketch should make all kinds of facts easy to store and easy to retrieve: It should be set up to provide a good place to keep current questions and hypotheses about the language, as well as a place to keep what (we think) we know about the language. The organization should leave no doubt as to where a new piece of information goes, and as little doubt as possible as to where to look for old information.

7. **Residue is on display:** Statements of regularities or rules should be accompanied by lists of known exceptions, possible counter-examples, or unexplained phenomena. Where there are no known exceptions it would be good to state briefly to what extent the rule has been tested.

8. **Referenced to relevant literature:** The treatment should be informed by the relevant theoretical and descriptive literature. First priority should be placed upon other treatments of the same language. Second priority should be placed upon treatments of a given topic, configuration, construction, or phenomenon in other languages. Third priority should be given to relevant theoretical treatments.

B. Overview of the Approach

The process of constructing a thumbnail sketch is a cyclical one, involving at least the following steps:

1. **Transcribe a text** and print it out with wide margins. (Include the standard information on speaker, audience, occasion, location, date, and any historical references or situational circumstances relevant to the text or the relationship between the speaker and the one who elicited the text. Record what you used to elicit the text in the first place, and any other

information that may give a clue as to the intent of the speaker in giving the text. The most interesting texts are those with clear and intense intents.)

2. **Scowl**[1] **at the text and mark it up,** identifying as many interesting problems for analysis at this stage as possible. State these problems either as questions or as hypotheses. Certain questions will need to be answered before you can do a good job of interlinear annotation. Answers to these questions are usually reasonably accessible through general study of your text data. The use of the interactive concordance program, Fiesta, or (soon) Shoebox 4.0. are highly recommended. Charting to check out hypotheses is also recommended. (But if you don't have a hypothesis, do not chart!)

3. **Interlinearize the text.** Text should be dealt with selectively: One can profitably tape record hundreds of hours of text, especially if it constitutes intelligible input and one's contact with the really gifted native speakers is likely to be limited. Transcribe (or employ someone to transcribe) some of the more interesting texts, being careful to get a broad representation of discourse types to exemplify all the different kinds of things people do with words. This transcribed corpus should also be selected with the needs of the dictionary in mind. Even without annotation or free translation, it can be usefully accessed through a concordance search, especially as language learning makes the corpus more fully accessible. Of the transcribed material, do free translations of the best and most interesting of the transcribed texts. Do interlinear annotations of the best and most interesting of the texts for which you do free translations. The more work a given step takes in the process of making a corpus accessible to a wider readership, the more selective one should be in the choice of texts to undergo that step.

4. **Construct trees** that reflect surface structures in the text.

5. **Construct charts** that reveal contrasts among constructions as well as the range of variation within each construction. (Charts are used to check out hypotheses and to get a good handle on the kinds of lower-level variations that encode discourse signals in text.)

6. **Summarize the constraints and regularities** for each construction by means of networks or formulae or rules.

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[1] **Scowl** is a term used by Ivan Lowe to refer to concentrated study of a text.

7. **On the basis of the summaries, construct a grammar database outline.** The outline provides a filing system not only for results, but also for tentative hypotheses and questions. The outline can very well cover all levels of structure from morphology through discourse.

8. **Expand the corpus** and work through steps (1) through (5) updating and revising as needed.

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[Austin Hale, Erli-Huebli, 8636 WALD (ZH), Switzerland.] ■

Editorial Board Appointment of International Linguistics Consultant

SIL International Linguistics Consultant, Joe Grimes, has been invited to participate in the editorial board of the University of Montreal's newly initiated publication, Observatory of Meaning-Text Linguistics. Dr. Grimes is Professor of Linguistics Emeritus, Cornell University, in addition to his longstanding membership in SIL.

Observatory of Meaning-Text Linguistics (OMTL) was founded in 1997 to reflect and coordinate activities in the field of Meaning-Text Linguistics (MTT). A matter of concern is to also stimulate and support research in linguistic areas that are characteristic of MTT: dependency grammar, semantics, and the lexicon as part of a linguistic theory.

OMTL will contain monographs and anthologies on Meaning-Text Linguistics as well as on other approaches to dependency linguistics, semantics-oriented theories, and lexicalist theories. The book series will be published as a sub-series of the Studies in Language Companion Series (SLCS), edited by Werner Abraham and Michael Noonan, and published by Benjamins Academic Publishers.

Editors for the series: Alain Polguère, University of Montreal, and Leo Wanner, University of Stuttgart.

Other members of the editorial board are: Yu. Apresjan, IPPI, Russian Academy of Sciences; I. Boguslavsky, IPPI, Russian Academy of Sciences; B. Comrie, University of Southern California; R. Hudson, University College London; L. Iordanskaja, Universite de Montreal; S. Kahane, Universite Paris 7; I. Melcuk, Universite de Montreal; E. Paducheva, VINITI, Russian Academy of Sciences; T. Reuther, Universitaet Klagenfurt; K. Schubert, Fachhochschule Flensburg; P. Sgall, Charles University; M. Swidzinski; D. Weiss, Universitaet Zuerich; A. Wierzbicka, Australian National University

Dissertation Abstract

Das Ron von Daffo (Jos-Plateau, Zentralnigeria) Morphologische, syntaktische und textlinguistische Strukturen einer westtschadischen Sprache

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PhD 1998 Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt on Main

This work—a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the 'Fachbereich Ost- und Außereuropoische Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften' (Faculty of East European and Extra-European Linguistics and Cultural Sciences) of Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt on Main—describes the morphological, syntactic and textlinguistic features of the Ron variety of Daffo, a language spoken at the southern fringe of the Jos Plateau in Central Nigeria by about 10,000 people.

The Ron languages—a cluster of about ten closely related languages and dialects—form a sub-group within the western branch of the Chadic language family. Five of them were earlier described by Herrmann Jungraithmayr (the present author's PhD supervisor) in his comparative study *Die Ronsprachen* (Glückstadt 1970) and in a series of articles on different features of this group of languages.

The present study adds to the knowledge of Chadic languages in general and of the Ron languages in particular, by digging deeper into the morphological, syntactic and textlinguistic structures of one particular speech form, namely the Daffo dialect of Ron. The source material for this study is formed by a corpus of texts which the author collected during two periods of field research in Daffo, sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), in 1989/90 and 1991.

After a short introduction the author describes the sound system, parts of speech, the structure of noun phrases, tense, aspect and modality, simple and complex sentences, pragmatically marked structures and the structure of narrative and procedural discourse. The research and analysis utilized the linguistic help files included with Shoebox, a software developed by SIL, which was also used to do the interlinear translations of the texts.

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Report on the CarlaLinks Workshop

Dallas, Texas, February 9-20, 1998

Andy Black
SIL—Mexico Branch and International Linguistics Consultant

The CarlaLinks project sought to implement the existing mainline Carla tools (Ample, Stamp, and Sentrans) within LinguaLinks (Carla = Computer Assisted Related-Language Adaptation; LinguaLinks, see *Notes on Linguistics No. 80*). The project developers were primarily John Hatton, Randy Regnier, and Verna Stutzman. Andy Black and Gary Simons also participated as consultants, as did others on the LinguaLinks staff. At the time of the workshop an implementation for the Ample portion existed and was ready for alpha testing.

The initial purposes of the CarlaLinks Workshop were to gather field personnel familiar with the Ample/Stamp/Sentrans Carla tools to provide feedback on the current state of the AmpleLinks tool by testing it with real language data with which they were familiar and to provide input into how to best design the Transfer and Synthesis components of CarlaLinks.

The participants were: Terry Cline (West Africa Area Carla Consultant), Timm Erickson (West Eurasia Area Carla Consultant), John Hatton (PNG, Carla Consultant), Dan Hintz (Peru, Quechua translator), David Matti (Indonesia, Mamasa translator and Carla Consultant), David and Judy Payne (Peru, consultants for Asheninka and Nanti national translator projects), Randy Regnier (Mexico, Zapotec translator), Verna Stutzman (PNG and Academic Computing, Carla Consultant), and Andy Black (Mexico, Carla Consultant). Alan Buseman of ICTS and Steve McConnel, Gary Simons, and Mike Maxwell of Academic Computing also participated.

My impressions of the workshop were mixed. On the positive side, the participants gave valuable input to the developers on various issues relating to the implementation. They also appreciated the new capabilities of AmpleLinks. They reported the following as advantages:

Having one dictionary, one interlinear text tool, one copy of the data (whether related to the lexicon, texts, or Carla controls); enforced consistency and correct syntax at the point of data entry; the ability to immediately access all occurrences of a morpheme in a text corpus; the ability to immediately access all rules or environments of rules; the provision of a 'test bench' for testing analyses; the seamless integration with the interlinear text tool of LinguaLinks (i.e. one can ask Ample to parse a word or segment in an interlinear text instead of doing it by hand); the investigate

analysis failure tool (which makes suggestions as to why a particular analysis failed); and the Ample Settings Editor tool, which was described by Dan Hintz as follows:

> ... a live global view of the Ample description, organized according to type of control information (category, property, constraint, test) along with statistics never before available ... It used to be so difficult to keep track of say, the location of all your morpheme co-occurrence constraints. No longer. They are all neatly summarized in one spot on the Ample Settings Editor tool. You can see at a glance if you've been inconsistent. Even better, because the analysis is laid out so clearly, you can see relationships, such as generalizations, you might otherwise have overlooked. This can lead to an Ample description that is more linguistically motivated ... [When] you modify [a] desired control, it automatically takes effect everywhere it is referenced.

On the not-so-positive side, the future of the CarlaLinks project has become hazy. Between the inception of the project and the workshop, a number of sweeping changes occurred in the SIL software development world. Not the least of these is that development using the Smalltalk underpinnings of LinguaLinks is being phased over to another, quite distinct approach (currently known as Santa Fe). Since AmpleLinks was written using CQL (which is based on the Smalltalk underpinnings), it must now be considered to be nothing more than a prototype. As such, it will not be widely supported. A further implication of this change is that all future development on CarlaLinks is currently on hold. This meant that the second purpose of the workshop could not be met.

Instead, the participants developed several Carla-oriented Needs Statements which where submitted to the Language Software Board (LSB) for its consideration. As I understand it, the LSB (which is another change in the SIL software development world) sets priorities on corporate software development projects, especially with respect to the allocation of programmer resources at Academic Computing and ICTS. The Carla-oriented Needs Statements covered issues such as better tools for dealing with phrase-level disambiguation and transfer, manual disambiguation, and a sliding scale approach to morphological parsing and analysis. The latter would allow a user to begin analysis of his data using a rather simple, string-oriented parsing approach (much like Shoebox for Windows). It would then successively lead the user through stages such as defining morphological categories, identifying inflectional and derivational affixation, etc., until there was a complete analysis and parser.

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Review Article

Incorporation: A theory of grammatical function changing. By MARK C. BAKER. The University of Chicago Press, 5801 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637. 1988. 551 pp. Hardback $59.95, paper $21.95.

TERRY MALONE
SIL—Colombia Branch

Introduction. For most Amerind specialists the term 'incorporation' brings to mind the noun incorporation which occurs in Native American languages such as Mohawk, Greenlandic Eskimo, and Southern Tiwa. It also brings to mind the long-standing debate concerning the grammatical status of noun incorporation in these languages: should noun incorporation be considered a lexical process ('derivational' or 'in the lexicon'), or is it essentially syntactic ('inflectional') in nature? Perfectly competent, capable linguists can be found on either side of the fence. Readers wishing to follow the lines of argument pro and con previous to the appearance of the book under review should refer to Mithun (1984, 1986) (lexical, but 'the most nearly syntactic of all morphological processes'), Sadock (1980,1985,1986) ('syntactic word formation'), and Allen, Gardner, and Frantz (1984) (syntactic).

Up until Mark Baker's work (the book is a revised version of his 1985 doctoral dissertation at MIT) linguists in the Chomskyan tradition didn't seem to have a lot to offer to this lively debate, although certain other issues which they were discussing were closely related in spirit. The discussion concerning the status of noun incorporation did offer some intriguing theoretical parallels to then current generative analyses of word formation (nice summaries of the various theoretical currents can be found in Scalise 1984, Spencer 1991, and Carstairs-McCarthy 1992).

This situation began to change with the advent of Marantz's 1981 MIT dissertation *On the nature of grammatical relations*, his 1984 book of the same title (MIT Press, Cambridge), and Koopman's 1984 book *The syntax of verbs: From verb movement rules in the Kru languages to universal grammar* (Foris, Dordrecht). More than any other antecedent work, Marantz's work[1] appears to provide the immediate theoretical foundation upon which Baker's analysis rests. Koopman's proposal that verb

[1]A summary may be found in Spencer 1991:262-75.

movement could account for the alternations in word order in Kru languages, and that verb movement parallels NP movement, appears to have provided the immediate inspiration for Baker's analysis of incorporation.

The first thing that an Amerind specialist will note upon opening Baker's book is that the author has redefined the term 'incorporation' to cover a number of syntactic processes (or inflectional or morphological—it all depends on one's theoretical leanings, but for the author they are syntactic) which at first glance would not seem to comfortably fit in the same pot as noun incorporation. For Baker 'incorporation' is a 'grammatical function changing process' which is syntactic in nature: it is the movement of a word (or lexical category) into another word, or in terms of X-bar theory, an X^0 category moves into the head that selects it or subcategorizes for it. He and most subsequent investigators working within Baker's theoretical persuasion refer to this process as 'X^0 movement'.

Under the rubric of incorporation processes Baker includes noun incorporation (a noun moves into a verb), the antipassive (a subvariation of noun incorporation), possessor raising (another subvariation of noun incorporation which involves 'reanalysis of the possessor' after 'abstract noun incorporation'), verb incorporation (the causative, which involves a verb moving into another verb), preposition incorporation (the 'applicative'[2] which includes the old 'dative movement', locative, benefactive and instrumental 'advancement', all of which involve a preposition moving into a verb), and the passive (the verb moves into INFL, which dominates the verb phrase and subcategorizes it[3]).

In Baker's system the verbal affix which field linguists would gloss as causative, benefactive, passive, etc., represents the word that has moved; in

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[2]This term is used among linguists studying Bantu languages for sentences which indicate the dative, benefactive, malefactive, instrumental, or locative relationship of an adjunct to its verb by means of a verbal affix, but as Baker notes, the applicative is by no means restricted to Bantu languages.

[3]In GB 'subcategorization' is the 'specification of the contexts in which [a given lexical item] can appear' (van Riemsdijk and Williams 1986:9); these specifications are listed in the lexicon. The Infl node dominates the verb phrase as the verb does its nominal adjuncts. At the time the book was written, the Infl node among other things included tense information.

In current theory the Infl (I) node does not always appear, but is instead expanded into a series of nodes representing tense, aspect and other kinds of information commonly marked in the verb. Symbolism in tree diagrams often differs from linguist to linguist, so that one is hard-put to find two articles in current issues of journals such as *Linguistic Inquiry* or *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* which use exactly the same symbols; this is likely to confuse (or put off) GB neophytes.

the position of origin; the moved element leaves behind a 'trace' (**t**), sort of a syntactic bookmark, which within the theory used in this book can influence certain syntactic behaviors even though no overt element is visible in the sentence.

Summary of the contents. In Chapter 1 Baker presents and discusses his basic definition of incorporation, trying to avoid as much theory-specific terminology as possible.

In Chapter 2 he presents the theoretical framework in which he analyzes the incorporation processes listed above—that of Government and Binding (in more recent literature referred to as 'the Principles and Parameters approach'). This chapter consists of two parts: a terse summary of the more general framework based on Chomsky 1981, 1982, and 1986a,b; and a more specific, detailed discussion of Baker's theory of incorporation and the revisions to Chomsky's theory which are necessary in order to allow a coherent account of noun incorporation.

While this summary is quite good, and a useful review for any linguist who has had some exposure to Government and Binding (hereafter GB) theory, it will almost certainly not be sufficient to allow a linguist who is a GB neophyte to follow the discussion in the second part of the chapter. The author considerately warns his readers that the discussion will be 'rather abstract and technical' (p. 46). Readers who deem a familiarity with Baker's work to be necessary for their research should first scan Cowper 1992, perhaps in conjunction with Cheryl Black's series of articles 'Introduction to government and binding theory', published in this journal (*Notes on Linguistics*, Nos. 73-79).

Chapter 3 presents an analysis of noun incorporation. In this theory noun incorporation includes three phenomena: incorporation of a theme NP (what Amerind linguists refer to as 'noun incorporation'); the antipassive; and possessor raising (equivalent to 'possessor ascension' in Relational Grammar theory). Baker first describes what he believes is happening syntactically when a noun incorporates into its verb, and then argues that his syntactic incorporation theory accounts for the distribution of noun incorporation cross-linguistically, stranding of noun phrase constituents upon incorporation of the head noun, and what he terms 'possessor stranding'. He also argues that contrary to first appearances, with some revision Case[4] theory (as

[4]At the time Baker wrote this book 'Case' referred to 'abstract' case, as initially conceived of in Chomsky 1981. The word 'case' referred to the morphological form used to express 'Case'. Baker does not mention the difference in usage in the section on case (pp. 40-41) when he

conceived within the GB approach at the time of writing the book) is satisfied within his analytical approach.

The most intriguing part of this chapter was the last section, where Baker claims that the antipassive is actually a 'special instance' of noun incorporation. The claim is that the antipassive morpheme initially is the direct object of the verb (in GB terminology, it is generated 'in the direct object position at D-structure', p. 133); then incorporates into the verb, as a noun would. He explains cases where apparent direct objects co-occur with verbs bearing the antipassive morpheme by stating that these represent 'noun adjuncts'—that the antipassive morpheme actually bears the direct object relationship.

Chapter 4 discusses processes of verb incorporation, where two verbs combine to form one complex word. The chief verb incorporation structure discussed is the causative, although it is implied (see p. 155) that verb serialization processes as found in many African languages are more general instances of verb incorporation. (This implication was later developed in Baker 1989.) Baker points out that causative verb incorporation analyzed as a word movement process shows structural parallels to subject-to-subject raising, which is also a movement process. He then discusses 'the distribution of verb incorporation': 'polyadic verbs never incorporate a verb out of a sentential subject, and no verb ever incorporates out of a sentential adjunct' (p. 161). In his opinion the analysis of verb incorporation as word movement fully accounts for these distributional facts.

Citing previous research done by others in a Relational Grammar (hereafter RG) framework, Baker argues that his account of the causative construction explains the 'two types of causative rules in languages of the world: in some languages, the embedded subject appears as the direct object if the embedded verb is intransitive, but as an oblique NP (often an indirect object) if the embedded verb is transitive' (p. 162), whereas in other languages 'the subject of the base verb becomes the object of the causative verb on the surface, regardless of the transitivity of the base verb' (p.164). He handles the difference by proposing that the differences in case assignment depend on whether just the causative verb is incorporated ('V to C movement'), or instead the whole VP (VP to Comp movement). In the first case movement is to the lower Infl, and in the second case movement is to the higher Infl. In

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summarizes GB theory; on p. 112 he mentions in passing that 'case' refers to morphological case.

both cases the verb (or verb phrase) must move into a position where it can then incorporate in a manner which satisfies Case theory.

For me the most interesting part of this discussion was Baker's proposal of a connection between the behavior (or lack) of double accusatives and the type of causative construction allowed in any given language: the status of the double accusative construction reveals how the particular language assigns Case, and in Baker's theory, Case assignment differences account for case differences with respect to the subcategorization of the two verbs involved in the causative construction.

In Chapter 5 Baker proposes that the applicative construction is a case of incorporation of the preposition of a prepositional phrase into its governing verb. At the time within GB theory this was at best a shaky proposal so Baker devotes a section to the discussion of this problem. He briefly mentions one of the major objections to this proposal raised by non-GB proponents—the phonological and morphological dissimilarity of the verbal affix to the preposition in languages which have constructions with verbal affixes and prepositions. Unfortunately the explanation which he offers will seem like a brush-off of a serious problem in the eyes of non-GB enthusiasts.

Most of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of Case assignment; as with the other proposals concerning incorporation in this book the nature of Case assignment rules is crucial to Baker's analysis. Verbs which do not undergo the applicative are verbs which do not assign Case, according to Baker; thus intransitive verbs in this theory should not allow the applicative construction. In some languages intransitive verbs do allow the applicative, as shown by some RG work (done by an SIL linguist) which Baker cites. He does not adequately account for exceptions other than to say that in those languages intransitive verbs are exceptions to universal Case assignment rules.

In footnote 17 (p.468) he notes that if Philippine languages are reanalyzed as ergative (proposed by an RG linguist) his analysis can account for the well-known oblique constructions typical of that part of the world; he does not offer more details. He proposes that 'possessor raising' (previously identified and analyzed within RG theory) comes under the rubric of applicative incorporation, and can be explained within GB theory by 'N reanalysis', or 'abstract incorporation' (i.e. incorporation within the 'logical form' module—the GB semantic interpretation component of a language's grammar).

Chapter 6 presents Baker's analysis of the passive—the most well-known and probably the most disputed 'incorporation' analysis in the book. After using data from Bantu languages to show that applicative constructions can be passivized (which indicates that passive must be a syntactic operation

within this theory) Baker proposes that the passive 'crucially involves incorporation of the verb into the Infl constituent' (p. 305)[5] so that the verb can assign Case to the passive morpheme, which is already present in the Infl in underlying structure.

In Baker's analysis the passive morpheme is the 'full-fledged nominal argument' (p. 313) or 'external argument' (i.e. it is the subject) of the verb; part of the chapter is devoted to a defense of this proposal. The incorporation analysis of the passive renders the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law ('no more than one phrase can become the subject [in the course of derivation] in any given clausal structure', p. 321) superfluous. It is not needed because differences between verbs with respect to theta role[6] and case assignment can account for the different classes of passives (personal and impersonal). Baker explains exceptions to the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law by proposing that precisely (and only) in these cases the passive morpheme is a noun which moves into an Infl node.

He accounts for the '*by*-phrase' (and cross-linguistic equivalents) by proposing that (p. 335):

> ... the *by*-phrase 'doubles' the theta role of the passive morpheme in a passive structure, thereby looking like it receives the external theta role itself'

(i.e., the *by*-phrase is a double of the real syntactic subject, which in turn is the passive morpheme in Infl). Languages which do not allow *by*-phrases or their equivalents are accounted for if one assumes that (p. 336):

> ... it is an idiosyncratic lexical property of an individual passive morpheme whether or not it can transmit its thematic role to a doubling *by*-phrase.

NP movement accounts for the conversion of the original accusative into the subject of the passive clause; this happens in languages requiring that the syntactic subject position must be filled. There is considerable difficulty with Baker's account of why nominative Case is subsequently assigned to the moved nominal; there are theory-internal problems (related to what is referred to as 'government', the Empty Category Principle, and Case theory, which Baker slightly modifies) which it seems are not satisfactorily

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[5] In order to demonstrate that movement of a verb into the Infl node is possible, Baker cites Koopman 1984 (discussed above).

[6] 'Theta theory' has to do with 'how semantic/thematic dependencies are represented ... [It] divides the possible semantic dependencies into linguistically significant classes—the theta roles—and characterizes how each theta role is normally represented in linguistic structure' (p. 37).

accounted for in the exposition. Baker basically states that the verb and passive morpheme complex in the Infl actually assign nominative Case to the moved nominal and accusative Case to VP internal nouns if any such nouns are present in thematic object position. The assignment of accusative Case to nouns in this position thus accounts for the occurrence of nouns bearing accusative case with the passive in some languages.

Chapter 7 describes interactions of the various kinds of 'incorporation' processes; these interactions are in Baker's opinion a good test of the validity of his proposals. Multiple verb incorporation accounts for multiple causatives observed in some languages, noun incorporation (theme NP, antipassive, and possessor raising) interacts with verb incorporation to account for the co-occurrence of the causative and noun incorporation or the causative and the antipassive, preposition and noun incorporation (theme NP and possessor raising) interact, all three types of noun incorporation interact with passive incorporation, passive incorporation interacts with preposition incorporation, and passive incorporation interacts with verb incorporation.

Baker argues that general principles previously developed in the exposition fully account for the observed interactions. They also account for the interactions which are not observed: multiple noun incorporation (though a few exceptions are noted but not accounted for, p. 375); multiple preposition incorporation (unless the verb can assign accusative Case to more than one noun, as in Kinyarwanda); antipassive and preposition incorporation; preposition incorporation and verb incorporation (except for Swahili); and possessor raising and verb incorporation.

Chapter 8 discusses the 'implications of incorporation' as Baker has analyzed it in this book. He claims that his analysis supports his thesis that 'identical thematic relationships[7] between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure'; this implies that D-structure must be quite similar for languages which are radically very different at surface level. Baker claims that without D-structure it would be impossible to provide a unified account of all the phenomena which he has been able to bring under a single syntactic umbrella in this book.

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[7]For the field linguist unfamiliar with GB, the closest equivalent to THEMATIC RELATIONSHIPS in GB theory would be SEMANTIC ROLES; it is not, however, an exact equivalent. D-structure is (for the purpose of this review) best thought of as the point at which syntactic derivation begins; it is not exactly equivalent to DEEP STRUCTURE in the pre-1981 Chomskyan framework.

The analysis furthermore demonstrates that 'morphology is a system of principles which is independent of the syntactically defined levels of S-structure[8], D-structure, and the lexicon' (p. 429). At the same time 'the same morphological process can correspond to structures with very different syntactic properties, and vice versa' (p. 430). In spite of this claim, throughout the book 'Baker is relatively silent about the purely morphological aspects of the processes he discusses' (Spencer 1991:293). The analysis can be (and has been) criticized precisely on this point, for example, in the discussion of the antipassive where the first question that comes to mind is, 'If the antipassive morpheme is a noun, why doesn't an alternative version of the antipassive occur where the morpheme occurs separately as an NP in the sentence?' or in the case of applicatives where critics have commented on the striking morphological dissimilarity between many applicative morphemes and the prepositions/postpositions of the alternative PP expressions. Baker does claim that his analysis supports the Mirror Principle ('morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations', p. 13) with respect to general ordering of inflectional morphemes; he had previously proposed and argued for this principle in an often-cited *Linguistic Inquiry* article (Baker 1985)[9].

In addition, Baker believes that his analysis demonstrates that grammatical relations cannot change; this is in direct contradiction to one of the most fundamental tenets of RG theory. Not only this, but given his analysis, grammatical relations 'cannot be fundamental notions of the theory because their intuitive notions do not pick out consistent sets of phrases with uniform properties in any nonarbitrary way' (p. 431).

Comments. Does Baker's analysis really accomplish what he claims? Given the time lag (somewhat embarrassing for this red-faced reviewer) between the publication of the book and the appearance of this review, what has been the effect of his analysis within the world of linguistic theory?

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[8]In Baker's framework D-STRUCTURE refers to syntactic structure at the end of the derivation right before it is converted into a linear succession of phones.

[9]Although I do not have access to it, I suspect that Baker's more recently published book, *The Polysynthesis Parameter* (Oxford University Press, 1995) deals with this issue, and is an expansion on comments he made in passing in the book being reviewed: 'Differences in the behavior of causatives and applicatives across languages can be attributed to independent differences in how Case assignment and Phonological Form identification take place in those languages ... it follows from this perspective that there is no single, clear-cut theoretical difference between languages which are called polysynthetic and languages which are isolating...a language will appear polysynthetic if, in addition to general typological properties which allow a range of incorporations, it has a fairly large number of elements which must be affixed in the syntax' (p. 437).

Lastly, is this highly technical exposition of use to the field linguist who is primarily focussing on description?

In terms of absolutely and irrevocably refuting RG theory's concept of changes in grammatical relations, Baker's analysis did not entirely convince me, although I admit being somewhat biased: I did my early graduate work within an RG framework. This book does, however, represent the first really solid challenge offered from within GB theory to RG theory, which at the time of Baker's dissertation was in its heyday. It provides an alternative account of a number of syntactic phenomena which RG had handled much better, in a more unified manner. In spite of a number of theoretical loose ends and problems, Baker manages to account for these phenomena within the framework of GB theory as it was conceived of at the time, and in the process raises (as he often observes) interesting questions which had not up until then been raised in other syntactic frameworks. One example would be his claim that theme NP incorporation and antipassive are subsets of a more general process which he terms 'noun incorporation'—thus relating the two.

As I read through the book I found a number of areas where the author either had not been aware of current RG research (even at the time of his dissertation), as on p. 164 (RG analyses of the causative), or on p. 246 (RG linguists had worked on these topics in the late 70's before the 'ground-breaking' work of the GB linguist Marantz). A few statements or claims also appear which are best considered as misunderstandings of RG theory or terminology as it was at the time, as in footnote no. 31 on p. 431 where he states that 'in their RG-influenced terminologies they say that these languages all may have more than one direct object per verb' (Greek and Latin grammarians have been talking this way for well over a hundred years). I also felt that Baker did not really understand the full implications, function and roles of the *chomeur* law (even though he mentions it a couple times) or the relational hierarchy (which as far as I could tell, he never mentioned) within RG theory. Of course, when one is arguing for the superiority of one's own analysis, it is a superhuman feat to appreciate the full significance of alternative points of view.

In some cases RG, at the time, handled the data just as well as or, in some cases, better than Baker's GB based analysis as on p. 45 where he claims that 'NPs will often show hybrid properties, acting as an object with respect to some subtheories, and as a subject with respect to others' (RG handled this by proposing 'initial' and 'final' grammatical relations). RG accounted for the occurrence of direct objects with passive verbs and subject-like properties, as well as stipulations on what could passivize with transitive verbs (the

relational hierarchy) at least as satisfactorily, in a way which was much less of a challenge to RG theory than Baker's account was to GB theory.

At the same time, I felt that the GB-based accounts of some phenomena were superior to those offered by RG. For instance, Baker's account of verb incorporation predicted a more direct relationship between the causative and the double accusative (I had observed such a relationship as I studied the double accusative in Koiné Greek) than was predicted by RG theory. In addition, Baker's accounts of the interrelationships between the different classes of incorporation seems to be more satisfying. When judged on his own theoretical ground, in spite of the many pending theoretical difficulties (to which he almost always admits), he must be admired for his ingenuous solutions. Two good examples would be his account for the different classes of passive described in the literature, and his attempt to account for the different case marking properties of causatives across a variety of languages.

In the end, it is hard to believe that either theory handles the phenomena under discussion better than the other, although RG's approach was a lot easier to understand and apply. This is perhaps because from a philosophical point of view it is hard to see much difference between stipulating structural positions as primes to which thematic relations are assigned with subsequent specification of grammatical relations via Case theory ('The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis'), and stipulating grammatical relations as primitives based on underlying semantic roles (RG). Therefore I was not able to view with an unjaundiced eye Baker's claims for his analysis being superior to grammatical function changing analyses.

What effect has Baker's analysis had on the world of linguistic theory? Since the time of his dissertation and the subsequent publication of this book, RG theory has experienced extensive revision. It seems to be disappearing from the U.S. linguistic scene[10] so to now criticize it, use it, or compare it with anything else is like trying to kick an already fleeing dog. GB theory has also changed although, as seen in recent issues of journals such as *Linguistic Inquiry* and *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, the

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[10]If this statement is not true, I would appreciate correction from readers. Gerdts 1992 and Davies 1993 would suggest that RG is metamorphosing into what is referred to as 'mapping theory'. I cannot find anything on RG after 1995 in any major journals available to me. Perhaps someone will write a short article for *NOLx* to help those doing field work who lack good library access catch up on the status of this theory. As with the current (and very much alive) theory of Cognitive Linguistics, RG work tended to appear in out-of-the-way, hard-to-find (or breath-takingly expensive) sources.

most recently proposed replacements (Minimality Theory and Optimality Theory) are not universally welcomed at this point within GB circles.

Baker's general proposal of incorporation as movement to Infl and as a way to account for many of the grammatical function changing relationships emphasized in RG has merged into the general mainstream of GB linguistics, especially among those who do not subscribe to the lexicalist hypothesis[11]; it is hard to find issues of major GB-orientated journals that don't refer to this book in at least one article. Baker's work definitely put a finger on some especially weak areas within then current GB theory, such as the definition of proper government (still not entirely resolved), Case theory, and theta theory; this book has done much to inspire GB theorists to try to clarify some of these areas. This may be seen by perusing recent GB-oriented revisions and proposals concerning Case theory, such as Bittner and Hale 1996a, b, and Woolford 1997 in which Baker's incorporation analysis is taken for granted but which at the same time, in light of these proposals, would have to be somewhat modified or revised.

Some GB practitioners (and to a lesser degree, other linguists) have used Baker's approach to account for language data, or have extended his analysis. For instance, Larson 1988 uses Baker's approach to propose 'a derivational account of the dative-double object relation' (p. 351); Afarli 1989 argues that Baker's theory explains the differences in case assignment between English and Norwegian passives; Baker et al 1989 argue that the passive morpheme in English is an 'argument'[12]; Li 1990 revises Baker's analysis of 'verb incorporation' and answers the question 'Why can't all verbs that take clausal complements incorporate?' Weber 1993 uses Baker's incorporation analysis to account for the behavior of the causative morpheme *-chi* in Huallanga Quechua; and Guasti 1996 claims that an incorporation analysis accounts for the two causative constructions of Italian.

GB practitioners who subscribe to the lexicalist hypothesis do not accept the analysis of incorporation in this book; DiSciullo and Williams 1987 (see especially pp. 63-69) is a case in point. A comparison of these authors' criticism of Baker's analysis, and his of theirs (pp. 431-433) revealed one of Baker's qualities which is much appreciated throughout his book: his gentlemanly approach toward those who do not agree with his analysis, and his firm habit of criticizing alternative approaches by presenting detailed

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[11]Lexicalists believe that syntactic processes should not be used to derive words in the lexicon, or even account for inflectional processes; Baker obviously is not a hardcore lexicalist.

[12]Within GB this basically means that it functions as a NP.

discussions of weaknesses. It would be good to see more GB linguists imitate Baker in this area, although I must admit that in more recent literature more GB linguists are leaning toward his exemplary approach.

Yet other investigators (usually operating within theories other than GB) have rejected Baker's claim, publishing alternative analyses and data problematic for his analysis, i.e. Craig and Hale 1988 argue (p. 312):

> ... the hypothesis that relational preverbs are incorporated into the verb by means of a syntactic rule accounts for their observed properties in some languages, but not in others.

Bresnan and Kanerva 1989 claim that Baker's analysis does not and cannot account for locative inversion in Chichewa. Rosen 1989 argues that word formation processes—and not syntactic rules—account for thematic NP incorporation. Bresnan and Moshi 1990 claim that Baker's proposals explain many of the differences between applicative verbs in Chichewa and Kichaga, but 'fails to explain several of their similarities' (p. 161). Alsina 1992 argues that 'morphological causatives cannot be formed by a syntactic derivation' (p. 517). Mohanan 1995 argues that Baker's analysis cannot account for noun incorporation in Hindi. Bresnan and Mchombo 1995 argue that syntactic movement approaches cannot account for the behavior of Bantu noun class markers. Sells 1995 presents evidence that a structural, syntactic analysis does not account for Korean and Japanese morphology. Spencer 1995 presents data suggesting that word formation processes—and not syntactic rules—best account for thematic NP incorporation in Chukchi. Donohue 1997 presents data illustrating that some 'applied' objects in Bajau do not behave as Baker's incorporation theory predicts they should. Wunderlich 1997 proposes a revision of GB theory which allows for both 'lexically inherent causatives' and syntactic derivation of some causatives.

The number of references arguing against Baker's incorporation analysis, or which claim that it does not universally apply, indicate that Baker's work has exerted significant influence on non-GB orientated linguists. He has forced linguists to take a closer look at grammatical function changing processes, and the competing analyses which have been offered to account for them. Works such as Spencer 1991 and Carstairs-McCarthy 1992 indicate that not only has Baker's incorporation theory contributed significantly to the ongoing debate on word formation, but was significant in increasing interest in the morphology-syntax interface. If one makes allowances for some revisions in GB theory, the analysis in this book is still relevant to current theoretical issues, and will be for the next few years; the above references, both positive and negative, make this patently clear.

So how does this relate to the field linguist and SIL member? It is difficult to find bibliographies in current major linguistic journals that do not refer to at least one work by an SIL member. Theoretical linguists scrounge through the literature looking for original data to check or disprove dozens of controversial proposals, with the predictable result that descriptive work is much more appreciated than it was even five years ago. Baker's own examples come from other sources, and not from his own field work (though he has since done field work in Mohawk). Thus field linguists, who focus first and foremost on description, have something to offer to the still current controversy that has been sharpened and focussed by this book.

Will most non-GB oriented field linguists want to read this book? Perhaps not, chiefly because of the demands it makes on readers with respect to competence in GB theory: although I am familiar with the theory[13] I had to read parts of the book twice and study several sections in more detail in order to do this review—partly because Baker's analysis was radical and on the cutting edge. It is also in part because the book could have profited with a little more attention to the old maxim 'Tell 'em what you're gonna tell 'em', but it was quite good at fulfilling the 'Tell 'em what you told 'em' part of the maxim. A table of contents which includes chapter sections instead of just chapter headings would also have been helpful.

Baker often buries in the footnotes significant problems with the analysis or juicy tidbits of the sort which would pique a field linguist's interest, which means that the reader must also pay close attention to the footnotes all through the book.[14] This last tendency was annoying until I realized that Baker was at least mentioning every problem he could think of with respect to his analysis—and dealing with them in more detail (even when cursorily); this facing up to potential analytical problems at the time was not (and still isn't) a strong point of much GB literature.

However, field linguists who find that they are looking at languages incredibly rich in the structures which Baker analyzes in this book, need to pay attention to Baker's approach. They might begin by looking at the

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[13] I have been reading GB literature for over 15 years and have taught the theory, although I do not practice it on philosophical grounds. Philosophical leanings notwithstanding, one must be conversant in GB theory just to operate in the current linguistic climate and effectively use current literature.

[14] For this reason it would have helped to have footnotes at the foot of the page, instead of the end of the book. This book is a good illustration of how the effective positioning of footnotes has much to do with the nature of the exposition; here economic (and other) factors usually dominate.

summaries of Baker's incorporation analysis in Spencer 1991 and Carstairs-McCarthy 1992. They will find in Baker's book a good descriptive summary of all the variations observed up to that time for the respective constructions and thus can determine (perhaps with the help of a consultant) whether a short article describing a novel structure or structures which confirm or propose problems for the analysis (as in Weber 1993 or Donohue 1996) is in order. It certainly will facilitate the task at hand if the consultant is conversant with Baker's analysis and the current issues which it represents.

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Reviews of Books

The empirical base of linguistics: Grammaticality judgments and linguistic methodology. By CARSON T. SCHÜTZE. 1996.
The University of Chicago Press, 5801 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637.
253 pp. Cloth $28.95.

Reviewed by JOAN BAART
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Research work within the tradition of generative grammar is typically based on a corpus of linguistic examples, some of which are claimed to be well-formed (GRAMMATICAL) sentences of the language under study, while other examples are claimed to be ill-formed (UNGRAMMATICAL). Ungrammatical examples are usually marked with an asterisk. (Question marks and other symbols may be used to indicate that the status of the example is somewhere between clearly grammatical and clearly ungrammatical.)

As these examples constitute the crucial evidence on the basis of which hypotheses are defended or rejected, the following question is of fundamental importance for the validity of this approach: How do we know that such grammaticality claims are true? An even more fundamental question is: How should grammaticality be defined in the first place?

Typically, the grammaticality judgments presented in generative papers are based on the author's own intuitions as a native speaker. In other words, linguist and informant are often one and the same, and intuitive judgment is used rather than observation of actual language use. This methodology is, of course, extremely vulnerable to criticism and this criticism has indeed been voiced by various authors from the early days of generative grammar on to the present. (Early debate on this issue has been recorded in the volume edited by Hill 1962; see also Hill 1961, Householder 1965, Labov 1972, Levelt 1972; more recent examples are Birdsong 1989 and the current book.)

One can point out that combining author and informant in one person results in an unacceptable conflict of interest. (The linguist's desire for the data to pattern in a certain way may subconsciously influence the grammaticality judgments.) Also, one can argue that not enough is known about factors, apart from knowledge of the language itself, that influence linguistic intuitions. While it is often stated that performance data (data on language use) are unreliable because there are so many confounding factors that

obscure a clear view of the grammar of a language, critics have pointed out that this is no less true for grammaticality judgments. In fact, some people have suggested that the number of non-linguistic, confounding factors may actually be greater in the case of judgment behavior than in the case of actual language use (e.g. Levelt, Sinclair, and Jarvella 1978:5f.), a suggestion sustained by the present book.

Chomsky, so it appears, has never shown interest in the replacement of current methods of data collection with formal, experimental techniques (Chomsky 1969:56, 81, cited on p.5 of the present book):

> ... [F]or the theoretical problems that seem most critical today, it is not at all difficult to obtain a mass of crucial data without use of such techniques ... I have no doubt that it would be possible to devise operational and experimental procedures that could replace the reliance on introspection with little loss, but it seems to me that in the present state of the field, this would simply be a waste of time and energy

It does not seem that he has changed his mind very much over the years (p.210, fn.1):

> Chomsky (personal communication) believes that research practice in linguistics ought to follow that in the natural sciences, where (in contrast to the social sciences) 'almost no one devotes attention to "methodology" '.

Carson Schütze's book is an invaluable source of information about the history and current state of the concept of grammaticality and the use of intuitive judgments within generative grammar. Chapters 1 and 2 introduce the subject of the book and sketch its background: How has grammaticality been defined in the literature? How have judgment data been put to use? What are the differences between introspection, intuition, and judgment? Chapters 3, 4, and 5 constitute the core of the book. They review what is known from the psycholinguistic literature about the judgment process and about non-linguistic factors that have been found to systematically influence grammaticality judgments. The first half of chapter 6 proposes a tentative model of the judgment process in terms of a number of different 'modules' (within a person's mind) that are involved, and their manner of interaction. The second part of chapter 6 contains a useful summary of the lessons that can be drawn from the experimental literature and how these can be applied to the elicitation of judgment data. Chapter 7 sums up and gives some suggestions for future directions in linguistic methodology.

While Schütze is a friend, not an enemy, of generative grammar, he diverges from Chomsky's point of view regarding the need for more rigorous methods. As theory construction within generative grammar is becoming

more and more complex, and depends more and more on subtle distinctions in the data, he argues that 'considerable care and effort must be put into the elicitation of grammaticality judgments if we are to stand a chance of getting consistent, meaningful, and accurate results' (p.171).

This book presents an in-depth treatment of an issue that is often ignored in generative linguistics courses, even though it is of fundamental significance. It is a must-read for those teaching such courses. At the same time, there is much of interest for linguists working within other frameworks.

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Grammatical constructions: Their form and meaning. By MASAYOSHI SHIBATANI and SANDRA A. THOMPSON, editors. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016. 1996. 345 pp. $80.00.

Reviewed by SHERRI BRAINARD
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Grammatical Constructions is a collection of twelve papers dedicated to Charles Fillmore in recognition of his leadership in the study of grammatical constructions, i.e. units of grammar representing form–meaning correspondences (as the book jacket defines the term). Each paper takes as

its premise that grammatical constructions often have unique semantic, pragmatic, and grammatical properties, and that they deserve careful study. The papers reflect a range of theoretical perspectives and approaches to grammatical constructions. Taken together, they provide valuable insights into particular constructions that linguists in general would find of interest. The papers are notable for their careful argumentation and clarity of writing.

Claudia Brugman investigates modified noun phrases and inalienable possession. She argues that certain modified noun phrases in constructions that express inalienable possession, such as 'missing tooth' in 'I have a missing tooth', represent a mismatch between structure and semantics: instead of denoting an individual or an entity as its structure would suggest, the construction denotes a state of affairs.[1] She proposes that these modified noun phrases are a subset of a more general discrepancy between the meaning that the syntax of a construction would lead us to expect and what the construction actually means.

Adele Goldberg considers English sentences using the expression 'one's way', as in 'Pat pushed her way out of the room', and argues that these sentences demonstrate that the semantics of some constructions cannot be predicted on the basis of their parts. She suggests that this observation offers evidence that for some constructions semantic meaning is associated directly to the construction.

Yoko Hasegawa looks at *te*, a linking form in Japanese that expresses a range of semantic relations, e.g. temporal sequence, cause–effect, means–end, and contrast. Hasegawa argues that *te* cannot be a mere syntactic device, as suggested by some linguists, but must have some semantic meaning of its own since it does not allow all occurrences of temporal sequence or cause–effect relations.

James McCawley offers an interpretation of conditionals that provides a uniform treatment of indicative and counterfactual conditionals. He does this by adopting a notion of conversational score-keeping proposed by Lewis (1979) in which the settings of various parameters can change as the conversation progresses and can determine what the participants are allowed to do, and then applying it to the analysis of conditionals.

Yoshiko Matsumoto considers the interpretation of relative clauses in Japanese, and argues that it is semantics and pragmatics rather than syntax

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[1] All examples in this review are quoted from the article under discussion.

that play a central role in the identification of the head of a Japanese relative clause.

Mary O'Connor investigates possessor-raising, focusing on a type of productive syntactic possessor-raising found in Northern Pomo. She suggests that a range of conversational implicatures determines whether the construction will be used or avoided for a sentence such as 'She burned his knee', and presents evidence that the construction is more likely to be used when the speaker wants to foreground the consequences of an action for the possessor of the body part, rather than the body part itself.

Masayoshi Shibatani considers applicatives and benefactives, concentrating on benefactive constructions, i.e. those constructions in which a benefactive is a syntactically required argument, as in 'I brought her a dress'. He notes several syntactic and semantic similarities between benefactive constructions and transitive constructions having the verb *give*, and suggests that benefactive constructions are in fact based on *give* constructions.

Dan Slobin investigates verbs of motion in English and Spanish. He notes that while English motion verbs can express two types of path phrase—one which adds a location, and another which predicts the end-of-path location or state—Spanish motion verbs can express only the first type of phrase. He compares the use of motion verbs in English and Spanish narratives and notes how differences in these verbs influence the rhetorical style of Spanish speakers compared with English speakers.

Eve Sweetser takes up conditionals that express a metaphorical statement, as in 'If the Île de la Cité is the heart of Paris, the Seine is the aorta'. She argues that they are normal conditionals that can be interpreted in terms of the same kinds of reasoning processes used to interpret literal conditionals, as 'If Susan gets here in time, we'll go to the party'. She suggests that we reason about metaphorical and literal conditional situations in the same way, namely by means of cognitive category structures.

Leonard Talmy presents a system with which languages can place part of a situation into the foreground of attention by explicit mention of that part, while placing the rest of the situation into the background of attention by not mentioning it. He refers to this cognitive process as the 'windowing of attention'. This is an extension of Talmy's on-going investigation of the representation of conceptual structure in language.

Robert Van Valin and David Wilkins argue against the standard view that agent is a primary semantic role, and propose that the more basic role arising from verb semantics is EFFECTOR, which is defined as a dynamic participant

doing something in an event. They suggest that this semantic role (THEMATIC RELATION in their terms) underlies agent, force, and instrument—three roles that are taken (at least by some linguists) to be related.

James Watters considers the problem of interpreting nouns derived from verbs in Tepehua (Totonacan, Mexico). He proposes that in order to interpret such nouns, it is necessary to appeal to the frame of the underlying verb. He defines frame as the prototypical scene evoked by a word. This frame, in turn, serves as background against which the semantics of the noun's morphology is interpreted, and the meaning of the word identified.

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Natural Phonology: The state of the art. Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 92. Edited by BERNHARD HURCH and RICHARD A. RHODES. New York and Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, Genthiner Strasse 13, 10785 Berlin. 1996. 348 pp. Hard cover DM 168,00.

Reviewed by ROD CASALI
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The papers in this volume were presented at a workshop on Natural Phonology (NP) held in connection with an annual meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europea in Bern, Switzerland, September 18-21, 1990. According to the book's introduction, 'the intention of the workshop organizers was to invite all scholars who had crucially contributed to the development of the theory of NP in recent years.'

Though not popular in recent years, NP generated considerable interest during the 1970's and a number of its key ideas have had an ongoing influence on subsequent work. A fundamental distinction drawn by NP is that between phonological processes and morphophonemic rules. The former are 'those sound-structuring phenomena that follow directly from the nature of the speech apparatus' (p. viii). These include, for example, the process of final devoicing found in many languages as well as the complementary tendency toward voicing in intervocalic position. The latter include alternations which are at least partly sensitive to morphological factors, for example many of the rules of English with which generative phonologists have long concerned themselves, such as trisyllabic shortening

or velar softening (the [k]-[s] alternation in pairs like electric-electricity), whose original phonetic motivation is now opaque. Within NP, it is only the former, phonetically motivated, processes that are considered part of phonology proper. A major claim of the theory is that these processes constitute innate predispositions of speakers and that learning a language consists of learning to suppress those processes which are not active in that particular language. Phonological processes are of two types: lenitions and fortitions. Lenitions (e.g. final devoicing) are motivated by articulatory factors—they make speech easier to produce. Fortitions make speech easier to perceive. Loss of vowel nasalization is considered a fortition, for example, in that nasalization renders the basic quality/identity of a vowel less perceptible.

Excluding introductory material, the book contains thirteen papers. These are divided into two sections: THEORETICAL (six papers), and DESCRIPTIVE (seven papers). Although this distinction is to some degree helpful, it is far from clear-cut. It is not clear to me, for example, in what sense Julián Méndez Dosuna's paper dealing with the diachronic development of [h] from /s/ and /f/ in Greek and other languages is considered more theoretical than Richard Rhodes' paper on English vowel reduction or Eva Mayerthaler's paper on the interaction of stress, syllables, and segments in various Italian dialects, both of which, though they are assigned to the descriptive part of the volume, explicitly draw theoretical conclusions that seem no less significant than those of Dosuna's paper.

Of the six papers in the theoretical section, two, by Wolfgang Dressler and Geoffrey Nathan, are concerned with the extent to which natural phonological phenomena might have their basis not only in phonetics, as has been assumed since Stampe's original work on NP, but in some cases in general cognitive principles such as classification based on prototypes. Two other papers deal with prosodic phenomena. Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kolaczyk proposes replacing the syllable, a unit that has always played a prominent role within NP, with an alternative unit of rhythmic prominence—the beat. Bernhard Hurch argues that, contrary to standard assumptions within recent generative theories, stress in many languages fulfills a morphological rather than a strictly prosodic function. Of the remaining two papers, Dosuna's article refutes a possible counterexample to the claim of NP that lenitions never occur preferentially in strong positions such as word-initially, while the paper by Richard Wojcik and James Hoard outlines an approach to computerized speech understanding based in part on principles of NP.

The descriptive section includes two interesting papers by Marianne Kilani-Schoch and Elke Ronneberger-Sibold that deal with strategies for shortening words in French (and, in the case of the latter paper, German as well). Both papers show that the ways in which words may be shortened ('clipped') are not arbitrary but respect certain functional preferences, e.g., it is important that the shortened forms retain enough phonological material to render them distinct from other words in the lexicon. The other topics treated by the papers in this section are the behavior of English unstressed vowels (Richard Rhodes), geminates in Italian (Michele Loporcaro), stress in Polish and Czech (Liliana Madelska and Wolfgang Dressler), Portuguese nasal vowels (Carmen Pensado), and the interplay among stress, syllable structure and segmental features in certain Italian dialects (Eva Mayerthaler).

This last paper is one that I found particularly intriguing. Mayerthaler notes an interesting typological connection among degree of prominence of stressed syllables, complexity of syllable types, and vowel inventory in various Italian dialects. Languages with more marked syllable structure tend to show a greater difference in prominence between stressed and unstressed syllables, tolerate longer stressed than unstressed syllables, and manifest fewer vowel contrasts in unstressed syllables than stressed syllables. This type of language (of which English is also a prime example) tends, in addition, to have a larger vowel inventory. At the opposite extreme are languages that have relatively unmarked (predominantly CV) syllable structure and in which the differences between stressed and unstressed syllables, both in terms of their overall length and in terms of the range of nuclear contrasts they permit, are not as great. This type of language (which is well exemplified by Spanish) also generally has a smaller, less marked, vowel inventory and few diphthongs. Between these two extremes is a continuum of intermediate types. Mayerthaler explains these clusterings of typological properties in terms of competing functional preferences. The latter type of language, with its smaller vowel inventory, simple syllable structure, and lack of significant vowel shortening or reduction in unstressed syllables, is ideal from the standpoint of ease of articulation and perception of individual segments. The former type of language, on the other hand, gives rise to more prominent rhythm contours (i.e. to more prominent syntagmatic contrasts between stressed and unstressed syllables), which may convey certain advantages (not fully elucidated in this article) for lexical recognition, speech processing, and pragmatics.

These descriptive papers are impressive for the thorough coverage of the phenomena they treat. In contrast to many generative treatments, which often (rightly or wrongly) abstract away from a variety of facts, the analyses in this volume are willing to grapple with complex data in considerable

detail. Rhodes' analysis, for example, brings to light the existence of some contrastive vowel qualities in stressless syllables that have largely gone unnoticed in previous analyses.

Historically, there has been a fairly clear-cut divide between the approach advocated by NP and the theory of generative phonology as typically practiced. Nevertheless, a number of emphases of NP have been incorporated into mainstream generative phonology. The classic example is the syllable, whose belated incorporation into generative phonology is noted on a number of occasions in the book. What was especially interesting (and surprising) in this regard is the striking congruence between a number of the proposals in this book and the framework of Optimality Theory, especially of the functionally-based sort that is developing at UCLA and elsewhere. To cite just one example, Dziubalska-Kolaczyk accounts for alternative syllabification possibilities (or, in her framework, 'binding' possibilities) as arising from competing functional preferences; the particular outcome that arises in a language will depend on which preference predominates. One can readily imagine expressing these preferences as constraints within the formal framework of Optimality Theory.

In light of the potential relevance of a number of the ideas presented in these papers to phonologists of other persuasions, it is unfortunate that more was not done to make the book user-friendly to those not already familiar with NP. Given the book's origin in the Bern workshop, it is of course to be expected that individual papers would be geared primarily to an audience which is familiar with and largely sympathetic to the major claims of the theory. Nevertheless, more could have been done to serve the interests of 'outsiders'. Considering the fairly small number of people working firmly within the NP model, one would certainly expect phonologists from other schools to constitute one of the book's intended audiences.

In particular, the book would have benefited from a more detailed introductory chapter giving a clearer overview of the theory. The six page introduction by Bernhard Hurch and Richard Rhodes is far too sketchy to be of much help to someone not already familiar with NP. The brevity of this introduction may be due in part to the inclusion of a much longer paper entitled 'Natural Phono(morpho)logy: A view from the outside', which immediately follows it. This paper, which contains extensive remarks by invited outsider Rajendra Singh, fulfills something of an introductory function. The problem here however is that while the paper is given by an outsider, it is very much geared to insiders in that it assumes a great deal of familiarity with NP on the part of the audience. While this assumption may have been entirely appropriate in the context in which the paper was

originally given, it precludes the possibility of the paper serving as a useful introduction to the uninitiated reader. In the absence of an adequate introduction to NP elsewhere in the book, the net result is disappointing.

While this shortcoming compromises the usefulness of the book to those not already familiar with NP, there are nevertheless enough interesting proposals made within the individual papers to make it of potential value to linguists who are interested in functional explanations for the kinds of phonological phenomena covered in the volume—whether or not they are practitioners of NP. A number of the explanations proposed within this volume do not in fact depend crucially on assumptions that are unique to NP, but could readily apply within other functionally-oriented frameworks as well.

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Introduction to typology: The unity and diversity of language. By LINDSAY J. WHALEY. Sage Publications, 2455 Teller Rd., Thousand Oaks, CA 91320. 1997. 349 pp. Hardcover $58.00, softcover $26.95.

Reviewed by DESMOND C. DERBYSHIRE
SIL—International Administration, Great Britain

In the Preface the author describes the book as 'an introduction to grammar in a typological perspective that is aimed at undergraduate and beginning graduate students'. It is based on materials he first taught as part of a 'Grammar II' SIL course at the University of North Dakota and subsequently expanded into a full semester course.

The book is well organized. Following a brief preface and a seven-page overview of the world's languages, there are 16 chapters divided up into six parts: I. Basics of language typology (four chapters, 73 pages); II. Word order typology (two chapters, 29 pages); III. Morphological typology (two chapters, 38 pages); IV. Encoding relational and semantic properties of nominals (three chapters, 50 pages); V. Verbal categories (three chapters, 42 pages); and VI. Complex clauses (two chapters, 34 pages). Features that should be especially helpful to students are: the first mention of key terms in bold print and usually with a definition or description; a listing of newly introduced terms at the end of each chapter; and, at the end of the book, a glossary, an extensive list of references, and an index.

Considering the limited space available for each topic, Whaley manages to provide a fair amount of basic information on a wide range of topics, and his

writing style is clear and easy to read. Inevitably, in a book of this size, some topics are only scantily covered and the student will have to look elsewhere for further information. Many sources are given, and Comrie (1989), Shopen (1985), and Croft (1990) get special mention in the Preface as 'outstanding resources', but it would have enhanced the value of the book for instructor and student if a select list of readings had been supplied for particular topics at the end of each chapter.

The first four chapters (Part I) provide general information: (1) the concepts of linguistic typology and language universals; (2) a brief history of typological studies; (3) methods of research, types of universals, problems in determining universals, and various kinds of explanation for universals; and (4) basic categories (lexical classes, semantic roles, and grammatical relations).

The chapters that follow focus on some major areas of research and in general show familiarity with quite recent work. For example, the discussion of constituent order includes reference to Matthew Dryer's (1992) branching direction theory as an internal explanation of basic order, and to the 'wealth of data and analysis on flexible constituent order' found in Doris Payne (1992) and Downing and Noonan (1995). The chapters on morphology begin with an explication of morpheme types and the process of grammaticalization as a partial explanation for the development of bound morphemes, and then move on to a discussion of languages as morphological types (isolating vs. synthetic, fusional vs. agglutinative), with a closing section on head versus dependent marking.

Part IV deals in some depth with three main topics related to the marking of grammatical relations and the semantic properties of nominals: (1) case-marking and verb-agreement systems; (2) marking for animacy, definiteness, and gender; and (3) valence, and the devices used for decreasing, increasing, and transposing valence. While the treatment of case and agreement is generally good, it is surprising that there is no reference to either Comrie (1978) or Dixon (1994). Furthermore, Dixon (1979) is only used as a source for a single example. All three are generally regarded as standard treatments of ergativity. While animacy and gender are dealt with adequately, there is no discussion anywhere in the book on noun classifiers (only a reference in passing on pp. 57-58 and a definition on p. 288).

Part V deals with verbal categories, in particular tense, aspect, mood and negation, and it also contains a chapter on direct and indirect speech acts, including interrogatives and imperatives. Part VI on complex clauses describes constructions involving subordination, coordination, and

cosubordination (under this latter term serial verb constructions and switch reference are described).

The book has some minor blemishes including a number of typos (e.g., the wrong alignment in example (12a) on p. 136) and a few misspellings (e.g., 'occurrence' on p. 156). In (1) on p. 4, the (b) Hixkaryana example is incorrectly glossed; *y-* glossed as '3S/3S', should be '3', as representing a possessor/genitive marker, literally, 'not taking of the chicken ...'; and the *n-* of *nexeye* should be '3S' (Derbyshire 1985:138). On p. 156, re: the use of S, A, and P, there is reference to a footnote 3 (found on p. 169) in which it is implied that Dixon first used the label P to represent object, but Dixon has consistently used O for object and it is Comrie and a few others who use P. An exception to the tense-based split-ergativity universal (see (16) on p. 162) has been reported for Cariña (Cariban), in which the only ergative tense is future (Gildea 1992:256ff., cited in Dixon 1994:99).

In the overview of the world's languages at the beginning of the book, Whaley is right in saying that the Amerind phylum is controversial (p. xx), but he confuses things further by designating certain groupings as language families (p. xxiii). Equatorial-Tucanoan is not a family, but a highly controversial grouping of families. The individual language names listed under it belong to several different families: Maipurean (Bare); Tupí-Guaraní (Guaraní, Kaiwa, Urubú); Quechuan (Inga, Quechua); Tucanoan (Tuyuca); and Yaguan (Yagua). Ge-Pano is another controversial grouping of two families: Jê and Panoan (Cashibo). For consistency with the way other families have been named, Carib should be Cariban when the family is meant. (Carib is an individual language in the family.)

The shortcomings are not serious. This is a good introductory text and I like Whaley's stress on 'what typology has in common with the sort of syntactic theorizing that has come to dominate the linguistic world—particularly in the United States' (p. xiv). Typological functional approaches and formal theories have much to contribute to each other, and our knowledge of language can only be enriched as scholars involved in both types of research interact with each other.

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The subtle slant: A cross-linguistic discourse analysis model for evaluating interethnic conflict in the press. By RICHARD G. MCGARRY. Parkway Publishers, Box 3678, Boone, NC 28607. 1994. 195 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by KARL J. FRANKLIN
SIL—Vice President Academic Affairs

The author of this volume holds a PhD in Applied Linguistics, as well as certifications in African Area Studies and Teaching English as a Second Language. He studied in Kenya in 1988.

By a cross-linguistic discourse analysis McGarry refers to his study of six articles taken from two newspapers in Kenya (the Swahili daily/weekly *Taifa Leo/Weekly* and the English *Daily Nation*). He refers to the conflict reported in the newspapers which took place between the Luo and Kikuyu ethnic groups. The press discourses related to the rights of the Luo to bury a prominent Luo attorney (Mr. Otieno) in his homeland. It brought into focus the conflict between traditional and civil secular law, the role of interethnic relations, and ultimately the Luo versus Kenya. Kikuyu (representing approximately 21 percent of the population) is part of the Southern Bantu, and Luo (representing about 13 percent of the population) is a part of the Western Nilotic. As of 1979 there were 15.3 million residents in Kenya.

The model which McGarry uses determines the interrelationship between pragmatic, semantic, and morphosyntactic variables in the press discourses. In regard to pragmatics, McGarry builds upon Green (1989) and Grice

(1975) in particular; for semantic variables he employs Silverstein (1976) and Kuno (1976); and for morphosyntactic variables he follows van Dijk (1985, 1988). In addition, notions such as discourse topic, paragraph topic, foreground, and background are discussed, but the main contrast between the English and Swahili press discourse rests upon a syntactic hierarchy model. Parameters of what is the most or least identifiable and what is most or least continuous in the texts are noted: in English these are zero anaphora, pronouns, left dislocation, definite NP, right dislocation, passivization, Y-movement or topicalization, and cleft sentence; in Swahili they are referential infinitive, clitic pronoun or verb agreement, *ka* tense, definite NP, passivization, and *ki* tense. McGarry's conclusion is that there is a 'subtle bias' in the newspapers' coverage of the case, introduced unwittingly into the news stories.

The author feels that the model he presents 'is a valid paradigm for assessing writer intention as well as subtle bias ...' (152). He claims that in English, despite the subtleties of intentions, it can be discerned in the coding of topics and their continuity. In Swahili, on the other hand, the frequency of foregrounded structures was most relevant. Finally, McGarry believes that his study and application have broad implications extending to multiethnic, multiracial and multilinguistic relations in any society.

The study demonstrates how difficult it is to compare very divergent linguistic structures, such as English and Swahili. The worldviews of the native speakers of the languages introduce subtle biases into the texts. We in SIL are well aware of the problem, especially when we are involved in translating texts into a vernacular language which is not our own. It is even more complicated when we translate from an ancient language that has been subject to exegesis for almost two millennia. It is by means of our native language, which conditions to some extent the cultural grid that we use, to view both the vernacular and the ancient text.

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Lushootseed texts: An introduction to Puget Salish narrative aesthetics.
CRISCA BIERWERT, editor. 1996. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
325 pp. Cloth $40.00

Reviewed by GILLIAN HANSFORD
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To a mother-tongue speaker of Lushootseed, or to a student of American Indian cultures, this must be a fascinating collection of stories with annotations. However to someone from the English side of the Atlantic, and with knowledge of African storytelling sessions, it did not grip me like it ought to have done!

Since Lushootseed is one of the lesser-known North American groups living on the northwest coast of the USA, this compilation is one means of access to their possibly dying culture. Part of a series of books including a dictionary, it aims to lay out stories in such a way as to make the structure of the narratives easier to see. The English translation is put on the left-hand page and the Lushootseed text on the privileged right.

Seven texts are detailed, ranging from the simple story of the marriage of Crow, through an eye-witness account of a spiritual healing, to a 900-line story of seal hunters. They were tape-recorded in the days of reel-to-reel, in a one-to-one situation (which has its drawbacks). Various Lushootseed members helped with transcription and comments, and there is background information and photos of some of the storytellers. This means that there is proper emphasis on the storytellers rather than the analysts. The songs within the stories have also been transcribed. Tapes of all the texts are apparently available to serious students who would now, of course, include descendants who wish to learn 'their own language'.

The layout of most of the texts shows what the editor calls 'circular figures', 'concentric figures', 'hysteron-proteron', 'parallelism', etc. Each line is numbered and the story pattern can be appreciated by spacing like this:

And then
Mink was walking on.
He was walking.
He was walking everywhere.
He must have been walking along
the shore of the Sound.
There again he would be up along the bluff,
up along the bluff,
down along the water.

The layout is not based on features of the oral delivery so much as the poetic features that the editor has recognized. She is using methods based on those of Hymes (1981) as referred to in Kindell (1996).

Whilst reading the story just for its own sake, one is struck by the ease of flow of the narrative, and the way in which the teller, having moved on to a new episode, is able by virtue of these patterns, to bring the hearers back and remind them what happened earlier. The editor states what her own aims are in this translation, namely to translate some of the poetic features of Lushootseed narrative by comparable features of English. So whilst she will always gloss relative clauses as relative clauses, and is consistent with the glossing of words, she tries not to minimize the repetition of syllable patterns in different words within, say, one stanza.

The Lushootseed text from which the translation is taken is also laid out in lines. Details of the phonological symbols used are listed. However one is left wondering whether the 'orthography' employed is actually community approved. The long list of symbols used suggests that this is not a phonemic alphabet. Elders, we are told, are able to read it from children's books, but it might have helped if the numerous diacritics or raised letters had been modified. The editor comments that the pronunciation of those few speakers who have never formed their mouths into English phonetics is somewhat different from those who are bilingual—so why not make the Lushootseed in turn more user-friendly to English readers?

The editor clearly has English speakers in mind as her audience because each text has an introduction dealing with a different topic, so the story about Changer and how he made Mink become the way he is, includes descriptions of the main characters: Mink, Raven, Crow, Deer, Wolf, and (yes) Flounder. The story of Crow being sick includes material about healing practices, thus the ethnographic information is intended to be cumulative. Other comments occur in small print and end notes. Although there are many references to other books that give more on each topic, I did not come away feeling I

knew much more about Lushootseed culture apart from the fact that the group existed.

As regards narrative, two of the stories are accompanied by a schematic analysis including lines like this:

> VI The boy returns home (137-184)
> 137-144 He travels to his village
> (145-146) His parents are sad.
> (147-152) His mother does not recognise him.

On the right side one finds description of whether it is a circular figure, concentric narration, or whatever. One would expect therefore that more attention would be paid to the theories of Propp. The editor disagrees with his proposition that 'The tales continue to be told, but [are] divorced from their ritual context' for the simple reason that Lushootseed boys never underwent initiation ceremonies. Although she shows that many features of what Propp claims for Russian stories also hold true for these tales, she doesn't take the analysis any further. Again she quotes Levi-Strauss' article in his book 'Structural Anthropology 2' in which he commented on Propp, but fails to mention the very next article, 'The story of Asdiwal' with its binary oppositions which have become so seminal to anthropology. Yet the Tsimshian people who told the Asdiwal story also live on the northwest coast and elements of at least one of the stories in this Lushootseed volume deal with oppositions such as ordinary people and dwarfs, up and down, land and sea, and even raw and cooked.

Nevertheless, the contributors to this volume have worked hard. There are plenty of notes on such fascinating matters as the agglutinative affixes which are laid out in little boxes for clarity. This could be of real use to field linguists working in languages related to Lushootseed.

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The linguistic individual. By BARBARA JOHNSTONE. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016. 1996. 229 pp. Hardcover $55.00, paper $29.95.

Reviewed by SUE HARRIS RUSSELL
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In the study of language use within a community there has been much discussion of the relationship between language use patterns within the community and individual language choice. These studies include the relationship between the external setting (e.g. political setting, religious setting, education setting) and the choice of language and style of the individual. Other studies have focused on the impact of the social network on individual language choice. Many sociolinguists argue that individual language represents the intersection of the language of the various groups to which that individual belongs.

In *The linguistic individual*, Johnstone argues for a less deterministic view of individual language use. J argues that a 'linguistics of the community' without 'linguistics of the individual' cannot explain language use. She points out that sociolinguistics has shown a great deal about how linguistic choices reflect social status, class, gender, ethnicity, and group identity, but little about how language differentiates individuals from other individuals (181). Quantitative sociolinguistics, she notes, focuses on the linguistic system rather than the individual speaker and generally has little to say about individual idiosyncrasy, except to consider it either deviant language behavior or the result of speaker immaturity.

Drawing upon the work of her mentors, A. L. Becker and Deborah Tannen, J sets out to explore the creative language of the individual. She argues that formal syntax abstracts away from the self altogether—that analysis tends to pin down the forces that limit creativity in language. J seeks to explore variation in individual language through three intersecting lines of thought—about language, about artistry, and about individuality (178). She recasts questions about the social as questions about the individual, questions about language as questions about speaking, and questions about rules and constraints as questions about strategies and resources (4).

J chooses narrative discourse as her tool of analysis for three reasons. First, the grammar of language, the medium, the topic, the genre, the interactions, the background of silence all interact to shape language within a discourse providing the context of variation. Second, discourse is well suited for uncovering linguistic newness since rarely do individuals tell the same story the same way. Finally, discourse analysis is also well suited to study the

individual; people tell different stories about themselves and they tell them in different ways. Through discourse people select and combine available linguistic resources to create a voice, not just a voice with which they refer to the world or relate to others, but a voice with which to be human (58).

The linguistic individual first explores variations in individual speech where there is typically accommodation. Chapter 3 discusses academic discourse and chapter 4, scripted speech. In chapters 5 and 6 J explores linguistic consistency in the individual speaker and tells why individuals do the same things in different linguistic situations. J then explains how to interpret inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies of individual speakers. Her thesis is that part of a person's identity is the way she or he uses these inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies in consistent ways across linguistic settings.

The linguistic individual brings attention to an area that field linguists sometimes avoid in language study. J's book provides a different framework in which to interpret these idiosyncrasies and variations, not as problems in analysis but as a way of appreciating individual creativity in language use. This appreciation may force us away from one analysis to a range of analyses, in which we discuss idiosyncrasies and variations of individual speakers as part of the creative process of language use in a community.

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Languages of the world, No. 10. 1996. LINCOM EUROPA, P. O. Box 1316, D-85703, Unterschleissheim/München, Germany. 72 pp.

GEORGE HUTTAR
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Over the last several years LINCOM EUROPA has published an impressive quantity and variety of materials on languages and linguistics.[1] Besides providing 'an outlet for high-quality studies in language typology, comparative linguistics, language policy and related topics' (2), the journal-like series *Languages of the World* (LW) has a regular feature, Linguistic News Lines, giving 'information on the infrastructure of linguistics, on linguistic projects, on new publication [sic] and on new approaches to linguistic theory' (2).

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[1] Information on the full range of present and projected publications is available at http://home.t-online.de/home/LINCOM.EUROPA, or by email inquiry to LINCOM.EUROPA @t-online.de. A review of one of their Language Materials series is given in Huttar 1995.

Issue 10 of LW includes four articles: two on language policy, one on reduplication, and one on mono- and bilingualism. A. B. Bodomo's 'Linguistics, education and politics: An interplay on the study of Ghanaian Languages' (3-15) considers why indigenous Ghanaian languages are so grossly underemphasized in schools—basically there are very few implemented policies on indigenous languages. Beyond this analysis of the problem, along with a helpful overview of the languages of Ghana, B offers practical proposals well worth consideration. One is (11):

> ... all Ghanaians educated beyond the first degree level should be required ... to contribute to the development of their mother-tongues by adapting terminologies and translating or writing basic textbooks into, and for, their languages ... as part of the process of graduating, every candidate must submit ... a translation of a classic reference or a textbook from a foreign language into his or her own ... for evaluation. Ample resources should be generated by the communities (and supplemented by central government) for such approved documents to be published as reference materials to be used in schools and at work places.

A second proposal urges at least yearly meetings of all bodies 'dealing with the development and teaching of Ghanaian languages ... [and] annual workshops for the production of primers, textbooks and other forms of literature' (12), an activity in which the collaboration of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation is seen as desirable because of this organization's experience in developing materials for adult literacy. Yet another proposal calls for 'literacy in certain Ghanaian languages'—the nine government-sponsored languages for a start— to be required for members of 'certain professions ... such as journalists, public relations officers, broadcasters, nurses, doctors, receptionists, revenue collectors etc. (12).

Most readers will be sympathetic to B's conclusion that (13):

> ... for any real progress to be made in Ghana and Africa, the mother-tongue must occupy an important place in the educational system. The most important linguistic policy for any African government should be to ensure that every citizen acquires primary and secondary education, first and foremost, through the medium of his or her mother-tongue.

A similar commitment to the value of indigenous languages underlies S. J. Hachipola's 'Language policy in Zimbabwe since 1980: Implications for the Minority Languages' (16-23), which, like the preceding article, includes a survey of the country's minority languages. The sketch of language policy before and after independence (1980) shows missionaries pioneering in minority language development, with the government taking an increasingly active role over time, as in, e.g., the Education Act of 1985, which among other things raised to seven the number of African languages officially

recognized. Even stipulations that minority languages be the exclusive media of education in the early grades, however, have only seldom been realized in practice. H cites lack of teachers, lack of books, and lack of guidelines about how many hours per school week are to be devoted to minority languages as key reasons for this discrepancy.

Like Bodomo, H also makes practical recommendations, among them (22):

> ... to ensure that every in-take of teacher trainees in teacher's colleges reserve a certain number of places for prospective minority language teachers. These teachers could be requested to go back to the minority language areas to teach upon completion of their courses of study.

R. M. W. Dixon and Alan R. Vogel's 'Reduplication in Jarawara' (24-31) is a delightful model of description of one specific phenomenon in one specific language. The form, syntactic functions, and meanings of reduplication in this small (c 150 speakers) language of Brazil are clearly described and exemplified in a handful of pages. So concise is the writing, in fact, that one could wish the authors had amplified, at least with a footnote, the occasional allusion to language universals manifested in Jarawara reduplication.

I must confess I found to be difficult much of Zdzisław Wąsik's 'Forming a linguistic idiosystem in contact: A monolingual in a bilingual environment among Polish immigrants in the United States' (35-46). W aims ... (35)

> ... to confront the theoretical positions of linguists as to the question what constitutes the proper object of linguistics and the non-linguistic sciences of language with the values of empirical studies concerning the idiolects in 'a completely heterogeneous speech community'.

The issue seems to be whether the object of linguistic study is a language viewed as an individual's internalized 'communicative verbal system' or as a 'social fact and process' (35). W presents data on Polish and English competence, and the use of some English items in otherwise Polish utterances, of a woman living 54 years in a Polish-speaking area of Chicago after immigrating from Poland at age 28. W concludes that just as ... (45-46)

> ... it is impossible to construct a general linguistic system from the properties of all existing languages of the world, one cannot believe in the creation of a particular language from the totality of its idiolects, when the language, as a system of shared means of communication which provides the rules for socially accepted norms of standard realizations does not possess autonomy from the knowing subject.

Linguistic News Lines (49-53) consists of a report on surveys of minority languages of China done in the late '50s and late '70s; a description of the intriguing 'Master-Apprentice Language Program for California languages [which] pairs an elderly native speaker ... with a younger tribal member, for the sake of intensive language learning' (51); and a brief announcement of a two-volume work on indigenous languages of South America.

The Review Section (54-70) continues the mix of mostly descriptive but also some theoretical interest: a review in Spanish of an 82-page introduction to Quechua language and culture; a review of a 52-page grammar of the Sino-Tibetan language Dumi; a very negative review of a Hamito-Semitic etymological dictionary; and a review of D. N. S. Bhat's *The adjectival category: Criteria for differentiation and identification* (1994). The last volume sounds useful for many trying to tell adjectives from verbs or from nouns in a given language. A special feature of this section is the reply by one of the compilers of the etymological dictionary to the review—acknowledging a few points, roundly rejecting many others.

Scattered throughout this issue of LW are a number of advertisements and announcements. The call for contributions (31-33) to LINCOM EUROPA's projected new series, Text Collections, may interest readers with texts (nearly) ready for publication. 'Mainly text collections on languages are published where survey is urgently needed, functioning as a data storage for future analyses, but also for illustration of the analyses given in the accompanying ['Materials' series]...issues' (31). Issues of 48-60 pages are envisioned, with grammatical comments to be included for languages for which no sketch is available in their 'Materials' series. Annotation is to be by copious notes, not by interlinearization (unfortunately). For more details, or to propose a collection on a particular language, contact Ulrich Lueders at LINCOM EUROPA, or at the email address (not the www site) in the footnote.

The reader should be prepared to deal with a large number of typos, inconsistent renderings of titles and authors' names, and other errors. But the effort is worth it for there is much of value in this issue. I am grateful for the very useful information it has brought to my attention.

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How to kill a dragon: Aspects of Indo-European poetics. By CALVERT WATKINS. New York: Oxford University Press. 613 pp. $65.00

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Calvert Watkins tells us that 'This book is conceived as both an introduction to, and an original contribution to, COMPARATIVE INDO-EUROPEAN POETICS' (p. vii). *How to kill a dragon* is by far the best of the books which have been written in English on this subject. In this review, therefore, we intend to call the reader's attention to the outstanding quality of the book and to indicate a few minor points which could, in our opinion, be improved upon in future editions.

The contents are actually ordered in the reverse direction to the title and subtitle. Under the major heading ASPECTS OF INDO-EUROPEAN POETICS we have Parts I—'The field of comparative poetics: Introduction and background', II—'Case studies', and III—'The strophic style: An Indo-European poetic form'. Under the second major heading HOW TO KILL A DRAGON IN INDO-EUROPEAN: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY OF THE FORMULA, we come to Parts IV—'The basic formula and its variants in the narration of the myth', V—'Some Indo-European dragons and dragon-slayers', VI— 'From myth to epic', and VII—'From myth to charm'. Each Part is in turn divided into chapters. In addition to 'Indexes of names and subjects', there is an 'Index of passages' and an 'Index of words'. Both the latter indexes are organized under linguistic headings (Anatolian, Greek, Germanic, Balto-Slavic, etc.).

Watkins gives English translations of all the examples used from languages as diverse as Greek, Hittite, Latin, and Old Norse, so that the same textual analyses in which he is making an original contribution can serve pedagogically for newcomers to the material.

Watkins shows the continuity of many linguistic and cultural items over long periods of time, in some instances thousands of years. For example he points out (p. 47):

> All and only the Indo-European elements of an inherited image symbolizing the sexual act of fecundation survive in the verbal behavior, the playing song of a late 19th-century North Russian children's game, and the name of the game

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* I would like to thank members of the Parkville Circle for useful discussions and advice on the final version of this manuscript.

> itself, *ërga*, continues intact an Indo-European lexeme for the sexual act (Watkins 1975e).

As Watkins (1975) discusses with abundant textual evidence, *ërga* is related to the colloquial Russian verb *ërzat'* (to fidget), Greek *orkhis* (testicle), et al. These are also related to the Proto-Indo-European word for 'bear', but this has been subject to taboo replacement in many languages. *Ërzat'* has the everyday meaning 'to fidget' in modern Russian, while the word for 'bear' is *medved'*, from Proto-Slavonic *medvědь* (eater of honey) (Gamkrelidze and Ivonov 1984:498).

Watkins refers to Pindar's 'elemental words of water, gold, and fire echoing and reverberating from Celtic ringforts to Indic ritual enclosures' (p. 11) and then quotes a couple of lines from Pindar's poetry, but this may not have been quite the best choice in order to make Watkins' point: while the Greek words *hudor* (water) and *pur* (fire) are thoroughly Indo-European, *khrusos* (gold) is usually regarded as a Semitic loan word. Still, his general idea of the passage as an instance of a largely shared Indo-European 'cultural tradition, verbally expressed, which reached back thousands of years' holds perfectly well.

Watkins' discussion of 'Orphic gold leaves' in the chapter titled 'Orphic gold leaves and the way of the soul: Strophic style, funerary ritual formula, and eschatology' is intriguing. These *lamellae* bear inscriptions in Greek verse were for the guidance of the dead souls in the nether world. They apparently date from the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and yet have clear answers. Why are the leaves made of gold? What can they tell us about the Greek views of life and death? As a result of considerable philological research (p. 277):

> Scholars are agreed now that these texts reflect contemporary currents of Dionysiac-Orphic (or Orphic-Dionysiac) views of the afterlife, to a considerable extent overlapping with views associated with Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans.

As well as these comparisons with doctrines as Pythagoreanism which have played such an important role in the early history of Western civilization, Watkins further presents some detailed comparisons with Hittite texts. He does 'not want to insist on a thematic connection between the two sets of texts in the two languages', but rather is indicating a direction for future investigation (p. 290):

> If we are to believe in an Indo-European eschatology, a common core of inherited beliefs about final things and a common core of style of verbal expression in the (inherently conservative) service of the dead, then it is to such comparisons that we should look.

In a number of Indo-European cultures there was a sky god who wielded a weapon, typically of iron—Indra in India, Zeus in Greece, Perun in Russia, Donar in Germany, Thor in Scandinavia, et. al. This god's name is still with us in the day names English *Thursday*, German *Donnerstag*, Swedish *torsdag*, etc. Discussing Thor's hammer *Mjǫllnir*, Watkins writes (p. 429):

> The Germanic word ***hammer*** itself belongs together with cognates of variable shape meaning 'stone' (Vedic ***áśman-***, Lithuanian ***akmuõ***, Old Church Slavonic ***kamy, kamene***), 'anvil' (Greek ***akmon***), and doubtless the Germanic family of ***heaven***, German ***Himmel***, Gothic ***himins***, and Old Norse ***himinn***. It is conceivable that an original meaning like 'meteorite stone' lies at the back of these forms, but it seems not to have been taken up for pre-Germanic poetic or mythographic purposes, and Thor's hammer is just that, a massive smith's tool functioning as a weapon.

It is usually accepted that English *heaven*, German *Himmel* (from which is borrowed Swedish *himmel*), Icelandic *himinn* all belong to an etymology completely separate from that of *hammer* (Hellquist 1980:352). Watkins correctly relates *Mjǫllnir* to cognates such as Russian *molnija* /lightning/. *Molnija* still has sufficiently powerful connotations to be used as the name of the newspaper of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (Mišin 1993:27).

The 'Index of words' is not quite complete. For example, in the discussion we just referred to on p. 429, Watkins lists 'Byelorussian *maladńa*, Church Slavonic *mlŭnĭji*, Russian *molnija*', but in the 'Index of words' only the Church Slavonic form is listed. On page 462 Watkins refers to 'Slavic *dŭno*, Russian *dno* /bottom/', while in the 'Index of words' Church Slavonic *dŭno* is listed (p. 613), but not Russian *dno*. Yet there is not a consistent policy of omitting modern reflexes from the index, even when they accompany the earlier form. For example, on p. 460 Watkins discusses 'the Germanic family of Old High German *bodam*, German *Boden*, Old English *botm*' and lists all three cited forms in the 'Index of words' (p. 612).

A number of forms referred to in Watkins' discussion of the etymology of marrow terms, and their occurrence in Indo-European formulae, are not included at all in the 'Index of words'. For instance he discusses a Dano-Norwegian Christianized healing charm cited by Jacob Grimm in *Deutsche Mythologie*, namely '*Jesus lagde marv i marv, been i been, kjöd i kjöd* "Jesus put marrow in marrow, bone in bone, flesh in flesh ..."' (p. 534). While it may not be important to include the other words of the formula, it would seem appropriate to include *marv* in the 'Index of words', as Watkins goes on to specify that 'Danish *marv* and Vedic *majjá*-like derive from IE *mosg'*,

and discusses this etymology at some length. Likewise 'Church Slavonic adjectival *moždanŭ* [...] and *moždenĭ* /marrow/'. Old Prussian *muzgeno* /marrow/, and 'Lith. *smãgenis* (nom. pl.) /marrow, brains/, Latv. *smazdenes*' are discussed in the text (pp. 535-536), but are absent from the 'Index of words'.

This book is a gold mine of valuable information, written in an engaging manner which keeps up the reader's interest throughout. It seems to the present reviewer that filling the gaps in the 'Index of words' would be useful to the reader while not greatly increasing the size of the volume in the future editions which this excellent book will surely merit.

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The semantic basis of argument structure, by STEPHEN WECHSLER. Stanford: CSLI Publications (Center for the Study of Language and Information). Cambridge University Press, 40 West 20th St., New York, NY 10011-4211. 1995. 165 pp. Hardback $49.95, paper $19.95

Reviewed by JAMES K. WATTERS
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The issues Wechsler addresses in this book involve the fascinating interface between lexical semantics and syntax, a subject of intense interest within linguistics in recent years.

On the one hand, lexical semantics is concerned with such things as the relationship between a verb and the situation to which it refers. We can think of the situation as the scene that would be displayed in a picture or video of the state or action. For a verb like SING, we would see at least one participant—the singer. For a verb like HIT, we would see both a hitter and an object that is being hit. For a verb like GIVE, we would see a giver, the

object given, and the recipient. A verb's set of participant roles or arguments is often called its semantic valence.

On the other hand, each verb has morphosyntactic properties which we define as intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. Now, interesting questions arise: What is the relation between a verb's semantic valence and its morphosyntactic features? Are the number of arguments identical in the syntax and the semantics? What determines which semantic participant is referred to by the syntactic subject, which by the direct object, and which by an oblique noun phrase? If one of the semantic arguments appears as part of a prepositional phrase, what determines which preposition is used? Is it a function of the meaning of the verb or simply arbitrary?

Such questions deal with the relation between lexical semantics and syntax—the territory addressed by Wechsler in this book set within the framework of Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG). The arguments are made with the kind of rigor expected in formal analyses. Furthermore, the focus is on what language data can tell us about the nature of linguistic theory and formalisms, rather than the other way around. As a result, many field linguists, accustomed to 'functionalist' approaches, may not be inclined to read it.[1] That is unfortunate, since a coherent theory forces us to consider questions that we likely would not otherwise think of.

HPSG can provide an excellent framework for fieldworkers working in a previously undescribed language. HPSG is a nonderivational constraint-based theory with an insightful distinction between constituency and linear order built into the formalism. Furthermore, it takes the position that words 'very largely determine the syntactic and semantic properties of phrases in general' (Pollard and Sag 1987:13). Thus, in building a database for the lexicon, the linguist would be pushed to find answers to syntactic questions that might otherwise be overlooked. Furthermore, HPSG explicitly explores relations between items within the lexicon through a lexical hierarchy and lexical rules. Although the reader would do well to be somewhat acquainted with HPSG before reading this book, Wechsler's short introduction to the theory and to Situation Semantics should be sufficient for the issues at hand.

The first three chapters are basically from Wechsler's 1991 Stanford dissertation. The fourth and final chapter was written in 1995 and suggests some alterations to the approach presented in the first part of the book. This

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[1] There is, of course, extensive discussion of English grammatical details. That, hopefully, will not frustrate field linguists but rather suggest similar arguments for competing hypotheses in their research.

makes the book a bit frustrating. A particular solution to an issue is argued in the first part of the book, only to be supplanted by a different solution in chapter 4. The reader could start by skimming over chapter 4 before going back and reading the first three chapters for more details.

Theories that have attempted to relate semantic argument structure to syntactic positions of NPs have typically invoked some kind of semantic role hierarchy such as agent-theme-patient, with various other points in between. These theories usually assume universals such as any agent present in the semantic structure will map onto subject position in the normal (i.e. nonpassivized) case. To deal with other more complex issues (most of the data!), some approaches have posited a 'cluster' approach to such semantic roles. Examples include Role and Reference Grammar's (RRG) Actor and Undergoer (Foley and Van Valin 1984) and Dowty's proto-roles (Dowty 1991). These semantic-role-based approaches sometimes employ a form of lexical decomposition (e.g. RRG, following Dowty 1979) or a notion of 'conceptual structure' (e.g. Jackendoff 1983, following Gruber 1976).

Wechsler presents what he considers weaknesses in these approaches, and insightfully draws on two concepts (NOTION and PART) in order to establish three rules (Notion, Nuclear Role, and Part) for mapping semantic arguments onto syntactic positions. NOTION (from Crimmins 1989) is roughly the idea of X 'conceiving of' or 'having the notion' of Y. The Notion Rule basically states that if any participant 'conceives of' another participant, the subject must 'conceive of' the object.[2]

In dealing with causal relations and part-whole relations (or containment) he appeals to the concept of PART (in the first case, 'part' of the event structure of the predicate; in the second, a more traditional partitive relation). The Nuclear Role Rule guarantees that for a change-of-state verb, the object that undergoes a change of state will not be the subject of a transitive verb. The Part Rule applying to 'container verbs' (e.g. CONTAINS, INCLUDES), prohibits a situation in which the subject referent would be 'part of' the object.

Wechsler also discusses the distinction between direct and oblique arguments of verbs. One of the more intriguing cross-linguistic observations made in the book concerns increasing the valence of a verb. He argues that languages use one of two strategies to increase verb valence: morpholexical operations or 'linking adjunct roles to thematically restricted complements'.

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[2] It is possible that some verb may not entail that the referent of either argument conceives of the other, or it may entail that they mutually conceive of one another. The mapping from semantic argument position to syntactic position would then be determined by another rule.

The latter is exemplified by English constructions with prepositions such as *to* (as in 'John donated books to the library'), *with* (marking instrument) or *for* (in 'John baked a cake for Mary'), and by the 'dative shift' construction (in 'John baked Mary a cake').

Many other languages employ morpholexical operations to increase verb valence—for example, Tepehua (Totonacan, eastern Mexico). Tepehua has constructions that are commonly called applicatives or incorporated prepositions with structures such as the following:

(1a) *mi-l* *laka* *juki*
come-PFV PREP horse
'X came on a horse.'

(1b) *pu-mi-l* *juki*
MEANS-come-PFV horse
'X came on a horse.'

(2a) *st'a-l*
sell-PFV
'X sold Y.'

(2b) *st'a-ni-l*
sell-DAT-PFV
'X sold Y to Z.' or 'X sold Y for Z.'

Note that the presence of an affix (a prefix in (1b) and a suffix in (2b)) permits the presence of an additional argument in the clause, much as prepositions do in the English translations and in some Tepehua clauses (e.g. 1a). Note also that there are two possible readings for (2b). By far the most common reading is one in which Z is the recipient—part of the scene always associated with selling. However, another possible reading (given a rich enough context) is one in which Z is a benefactive (e.g. the store owner). These two readings correspond to a distinction between inner arguments and adjuncts—a distinction which Wechsler discusses in some detail.[3]

As mentioned above, in the first two chapters Wechsler argues for three rules to serve as constraints on the mapping between semantic arguments and syntactic position. In the final chapter he continues to appeal to the relations NOTION/CONCEIVE and PART but he replaces the rules with a hierarchical approach.[4] Verbs such as LIKE, BELIEVE, and SEE involve relations that are

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[3] Baker 1988 (and elsewhere) has also discussed the distinction between direct arguments and adjuncts in some detail and has made the claim that incorporation constructions involving benefactives (such as the second reading in 2b) are subject to different constraints cross-linguistically than incorporated direct arguments. Wechsler, however, claims that applicative constructions 'create new verbs with higher valency ... they add not ADJ.ROLES [adjunct roles], but ROLES (direct semantic arguments) ... we expect [them] to act like any ditransitive; and we expect this to constrast with Enligh *for*-datives' 96). The difference, then, between the (a) and (b) forms in (1) and (2) is a difference between two different verbs with different valences. For the Tepehua data, the prediction of Wechsler's lexicalist analysis holds and Baker's syntactic analysis fails (cf. Watters 1989).

[4] It is not clear why Wechsler did not utilize the hierarchical lexicon in the same way in his original work (i.e. in the presentation in chapters 1-3). The mechanism was certainly available

all labeled as CONCEIVE relations, involving a conceiver and something conceived, with the same mapping from semantic roles to syntactic arguments. (Similarly, rather than the Notion Rule that applies when a certain entailment is present, the relevant verbs are now lexically marked to be of the sort CONCEIVE-PREDICATE.) It exemplifies one kind of lexical hierarchy within HPSG that may be very helpful in developing a lexical database for a field linguist in any language. The potential of this approach, as well as the many details that still need to be worked out, can only be determined by such an application to plenty of data.

There is no index—something that would be helpful even in a relatively short book such as this. Apart from the general problem of not incorporating the revisions of chapter 4 into the earlier chapter, the book is readable and well edited. Certainly, the insights Wechsler offers into the verbal lexicon and its relation to syntax make working through the text worthwhile.

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in HPSG at the time (cf. Pollard and Sag 1987). In any case, it would have been helpful if the presentation had been reworked from the beginning of the book to reflect his current approach.

Book Notices

Case marking and reanalysis: Grammatical relations from Old to Early Modern English. By CYNTHIA L ALLEN. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016. 1995. 527 pp. Cloth $95.00.

This book is a careful and extensive reconsideration of the interrelatedness of morphological and syntactic change from late Old English (OE; continuing until ca 1100 AD) through Middle English (ME; 1100-1500 AD) to early Modern English (ModE; after 1500 AD). Specifically, it examines the possible causal connectedness of the progressive loss of the OE case-marking system and the changes in case marking of NP arguments of several verb classes and clause types. It sets out to refute the hypothesis that reduction of the case system is responsible for syntactic changes in the clause ... [This book] deserves a place on the shelves of those institutions dealing with the syntax of the development of the English language, or language change more generally.

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French Usage. By RICHARD WAKELY and HENRI BÉJOINT. Oxford University Press, 198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016. 1996. 220 pp. Paper $7.95.

French Usage [goes] beyond closed sets that we all learn during initial language learning ... it goes into open sets, such as names of animals, flowers, foods, and diseases. As a language learner's tool, there is lots of well-organized information ... [M]ajor headings from the Table of Contents: time, place, quantities and measurements, elements and materials, flora and fauna, the human body, social roles and organizations, and artifacts.

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From the Linguistics Department

Robert Van Valin named as International Linguistics Advisor

SIL is honored to have Robert Van Valin as a newly named International Linguistics Advisor. Most readers of *Notes on Linguistics* will be familiar with Dr. Van Valin's works on Role and Reference Grammar. In March of this year Dr. Van Valin conducted a seminar with the Malaysia Branch of SIL on Role and Reference Grammar, in coordination with Michael Boutin, the Branch Linguistics Coordinator. Dr. Van Valin visited and gave lectures at the North Dakota SIL in 1993, and at the Oklahoma SIL in 1983. His first graduate student while at Temple University was SIL member Chuck Walton and his first PhD student was SIL member Jim Watters, whose dissertation he co-chaired while at UC-Davis (Jim got his degree from UC-Berkeley). We greatly appreciate Dr. Van Valin's contribution to our organization and his friendship to several of our members. For those who have not had the opportunity to get to know him, excerpts from his Curriculum Vitae are given below.

—David Payne, Editor

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Implications of Agreement languages for linguistics[1]

W. P. Lehmann
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1. The importance of Agreement languages. As was pointed out before (1996), I consider the discovery and description of Agreement languages and the information on their structure the most important finding of linguistics in the twentieth century. They have contributed to broadening the basis of linguistic theory. As one example, government can no longer be viewed as a universal, nor can transitivity. Much as the discovery and description of indigenous languages provided a basis in the nineteenth century for establishing linguistic theory that was not founded on the structure of Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit, so we now must regard the theory or theories underlying previous treatments of language as superseded.

Initial attention to Agreement language resulted from a monograph of Uhlenbeck (1916) that examined selected Amerindian languages. In a review of the monograph, Sapir discussed some of the characteristic features (1917). While these were treated in subsequent monographs and essays on such languages, the languages were never regarded as basically different from Government languages like English and the other major languages spoken today. In her grammar of Tunica, Haas (1940) dealt with such characteristic features, for example, the presence of three classes of verbs in her designation: active, static, and auxiliary, and the absence of a verb for HAVE; but she did not propose that Tunica had a different structure from languages in which transitivity is a principal characteristic. Using that grammar, Benveniste accounted for the absence of a verb for HAVE in the early Indo-European languages without drawing further implications (1971 [1966]). Thorough theoretical presentations of Agreement language structure were only produced by Soviet linguists, of whom the most important is the late Georgij Klimov. Among his publications are two monographs on the language type (1977, 1983); these should be translated for wider dissemination of their results. An English essay (1983) as well as a final summary of his 1977 monograph sketch the basic characteristics of Agreement languages. Subsequent publications, for example the large treatment of Indo-European by Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984) and my book

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[1] W.P. Lehmann is an International Linguistics Advisor to SIL. These remarks were kindly offered at the invitation of the editor.

of 1993 make use of the results for clarifying the structure of early Indo-European, but in general there has been little attention to the discovery of Agreement languages and their implications for linguistic theory.

2. A brief sketch of some of the characteristics of Agreement languages. Two major classes of languages must be recognized: Government, with nominative/accusative and ergative sub-classes, and Agreement, with class and active sub-types. Since Government languages are well-known, only the major characteristics of Agreement languages are sketched here, and only those of the active sub-type (see Lehmann 1996 for a fuller discussion).

In contrast with Government languages the lexicon must be considered in dealing with the structure of Agreement languages. Klimov uses the terms CONTENTIVE or CONTENT-ORIENTED because of the inclusion of the lexicon in their 'grammatical' treatment. Its elements fall into two large classes: active/animate and stative/inanimate. In addition to particles, there are two classes: nouns and verbs. The items in these are either active or stative. Many items obviously belong into one of the two classes, but some referents may be viewed as either active or stative. Among these are water and fire, lie (down) and sit (down). Through the recognition that early Indo-European was an active language we account for the presence of two words for such referents. For example, our word *fire* and its cognate Hittite *pahhur*, exemplify the stative items, Latin *ignis* and Sanskrit *Agni-* the active. In support of this classification we may note that *pahhur* and its cognates, e.g. German *das Feuer*, are neuter nouns, and that *Agni-* is the name chosen for the Indic god of fire. Most Indo-European languages preserve only one of such synonyms. We conclude that when they came to be of the Government type, only one was considered necessary and maintained.

Without pursuing examples of the two major classes of verbs we may note briefly the third which Haas called auxiliary. These verbs refer to psychological states, weather and so on. The first sub-group survived into many dialects as modal auxiliaries. Subjectless during the active stage, they were inflected in the third person; for example, Latin *paenitet* '(it) pains (me)', German *es tut mir leid*. The second group may be illustrated by Latin *pluit* or *it is raining*, which in Gothic had no subject. When subjects came to be required as the languages changed to the Government type, the name of a weather god was often introduced in these expressions as was Zeus in Greek.

Active languages are typically OV in syntax. They are composed of patterns with active/animate 'agents', as Uhlenbeck called them, paired with active/animate verbs and conversely stative/inanimate pairs. Lacking transitivity, they do not include objects but complements may stand before the verb. If they do, that closest to the verb corresponds to objects in

Government languages while the remote complement corresponds to adverbial elements. The following may serve as an example of a literal representation of such a sentence: *The boy in haste to the river ran.*

The verbal system has two principal conjugations—the active and the stative. The stative has few distinctive forms. This situation is still represented in early Greek and Sanskrit where the present is a reflex of the earlier active and the perfect of the earlier stative; the perfect has characteristic endings only in the singular, and the plural endings are chiefly taken from the present. Because transitivity is not a feature, there is no passive. Moreover, there are few adjectives; adjectival concepts are represented by stative verbs.

As in the verbal inflection, the stative inflection is relatively poor and there may be no plural forms. Even in the active inflection the plural forms may be defective. Moreover, there may be no reflexive or possessive pronouns; instead a special form, such as the early Indo-European middle, may represent reflexive statements, and affixes or particles may be used to indicate possession. Personal pronouns may distinguish inclusive, WE = I and you, and exclusive reference WE = I and mine alone.

There are many particles. As active languages change to agreement structure these may be adapted for adpositions, conjunctions, and adverbial reference.

3. Requirements in the study of Agreement languages. Among the most important requirements of linguistics today is the publication of descriptions of Agreement languages—descriptions in their own terms. Grammars that have been produced as of the Iroquoian languages, recognize active characteristics, but in general treat the languages as Government languages with some unusual features. The descriptions should include information on the social situation of the language, its relation to neighboring languages, and its use in its own community.

Like Government languages, not all Agreement languages are in accordance with what might be called an ideal structure. Languages are always changing—partly through the process that Sapir called 'drift', partly through influence from other languages. Although shifting from OV to VO structure by its general drift, Old English still preserved the OV comparative pattern in literary texts; current English, unlike French, still preserves the OV position of descriptive adjectives. Japanese, like many east Asian languages, introduced numerary classifiers before it was widely attested. Because similar modifications of active languages through contact with others have been documented, publication of a large number of grammars and descriptive studies will then be welcome.

In view of the predominance of attention to THEORY, such works may need to be published by an organization that is more concerned with advances in the field than with profits.

4. Contributions of such grammars and descriptions to our understanding of other languages. O[illegible]n the past decades has it become clear that Indo-European developed from an active to a nominative-accusative language. This understanding resulted largely from the discovery of Hittite and the other Anatolian languages with increasing knowledge of their structure. The implications have then been extended to examination of features in other Indo-European dialects that are residues of active structure. Examples in the lexicon have been noted above.

As an example in the verbal system, Indo-European grammars have provided capable descriptions of the verbal conjugation of the proto-language and the dialects, as for example in pointing to the few distinctive forms in the perfect tense, but such matters have not been accounted for. We now account for its few characteristic forms through our understanding that the perfect developed from the earlier stative conjugation. The meaning has also been maintained, for the perfect expresses a state indicating completed action. Moreover, a small number of perfects shifted to meanings that indicate such a result—among them the Greek perfect of the root meaning SEE, *oîda* 'I know', and its cognate that survives in the archaic English expression '(God) wot'.

In the interest of brevity, other examples are not given here. They may be determined from the work of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984 and Lehmann 1993. What is of primary concern in this note is the additional understanding gained for understanding of active languages and their possible change. We reconstruct Proto-Indo-European of the fifth millennium and later as a nominative-accusative language. The active stage, Pre-Indo-European, is inferred through the interpretation of aberrant features in Proto-Indo-European and of residues in the dialects. The more complete knowledge of active structure that we can obtain from description of active languages will be of great benefit to improvement in the understanding of other language families such as the Afro-Asiatic.

5. Contributions to our understanding of the relationship between language and culture. The relationship between language and culture remains one of the most highly disputed problems in our field. One might characterize the general opinion as skeptical, although reference is commonly made to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that favors such a relationship. Yet few linguists have proposed additional support, such as

Hoijer's on Navaho (1951). Cultural groups that maintain an active language may provide important evidence on the problem.

As a basic question, do societies that have an active language show an understanding between cause and effect?

The question is based on the possible relationship between production of sentences by use of agreement rather than government. If agents or situations are simply paired with active or stative verbal expressions, do the speakers recognize that the reference of the verb is or may be the result of the action or state expressed by it? Somewhat similarly, if the language does not include expression for transitivity, do the speakers understand that an action may represent the reason for a resultant situation?

Here too, one of the aims of such investigation is clarification of the cultures of early societies that maintained an active language or preserved a culture from the time when their language was active. We have no direct information about the culture of the speakers of Proto-Indo-European. Some of our earliest information comes from speakers of Semitic languages in Mesopotamia. There is evidence that the early Semitic languages were active. While many of the texts are general, some personal information is found in prayers. Among such prayers are requests to the god or goddess of the substance desired, such as grain; it is assumed that abundance of a crop is determined by that deity, and accordingly prayers are addressed to it. We may ask whether for the authors of these prayers such a procedure indicates that action such as fertilization of the grain is not the cause of abundance, but rather that the grain and other substances are imbued by a deity and that deity alone brings about results desired by the human beings concerned. Other texts as well suggest that the speaker related effects to beneficence of the deity concerned rather than to hold any notion that he might bring about an effect himself.

If this view can be supported, the shift from active to Government languages may be aligned with the shift in human understanding of cause and effect. Some linguists, e.g. Bichakjian (1988), hold that languages evolve. While not propounding this view, Klimov set up a progression from the two Agreement languages, class and active, to the Government languages, ergative and nominative/accusative on empirical grounds. No instances have been found of a nominative/accusative language becoming active while the opposite has been demonstrated. The general direction of language change may then be the result of change in human understanding.

If such a view can be demonstrated, greater knowledge and deeper understanding of active languages can be of immense benefit for linguistics

and neighboring fields such as anthropology, as well as the development of human culture. We have already benefited from the information that has been published—as in the volumes of *The Handbook of Amazonian Languages*. That information has given the key to explanation of residues, i.e. the absence of a verb for HAVE in the early Indo-European dialects, the impersonal expressions for psychological states, and the curious patterns in Old Irish where such expressions may be followed by two accusatives (Lehmann 1997). The accusatives are residues of the two active complements—one adverbial, the other somewhat comparable to a direct object. More complete knowledge of active language structure would lead to the clarification of other such residues and to our understanding of language generally in its use and development.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

The world's writing systems. By PETER T. DANIELS and WILLIAM. BRIGHT editors, 1996. New York: Oxford University Press. 922 pp., including index, corrigenda & colophon. $150.00

RONNIE J. SIM
SIL—Africa Group

The text begins with a bold opening statement by Peter Daniels (1):

> ... Humankind is defined by language; but civilization is defined by writing .... writing was the basis for the urban societies of the Old World. All humans speak; only humans in civilizations write ...

The intention is not to denigrate oral societies, but, with a few strokes of a large brush and solid color, to sketch in the space occupied in human history by writing societies. The 'simple' development that allowed the human race to make a permanent record of its doings, outside either the transient physical event or individual memory set up ripples that continue to this day. The computerized publication of an increasing number of scripts (and so this volume itself) is a contemporary ripple. This strong, rather stark claim is moderated in Daniels' contribution 'The First Civilizations' (Section 2) where agriculture and permanent settlements are identified as two other defining features of civilization (21), and the words of Jack Goody noted that civilization is 'the culture of cities' (*The Interface between the Written and the Oral*, Cambridge University Press, 1987). The pejorative sense is recognized, and excluded. With equal drama we are told (19):

> Prehistory isn't like a 'veil' or a 'curtain' that 'lifts' to reveal the pre-set 'stage' of history. Rather, prehistory is an *absence* of something; an absence of writing.

Clearly this volume reflects on writing as well as describing orthographies.

Daniels suggests there have been three independent origins of written language—those which underlie cuneiform Sumerian, Chinese, and Meso-american scripts (2). In various places, it is intriguing how widespread is the myth that writing is the wisdom of the gods given to men (usually men—and frequently priests; so Sumerian, Runes, Chinese among others). The term HIEROGLYPH and its Egyptian equivalent *mdw-ntr* 'god's words' recalls just that (73). Yet its origins seem to derive first from a growing commercial-administrative need in Mesopotamia than from the exigencies of recording divine revelation or priestly activities. It is the management of workers, produce, stock and sales, that lay behind the development of a script as a

means of making a permanent, movable, updateable record. (In Section 12 the origin of Mesoamerican scripts is held to have centered on calendric interest, presumably more directly linked to religious concerns. We should distinguish putative divine origin from early functional significance). From those beginnings, potential for writing a language has spread through two basic, rather obvious, processes. The first is where an individual observes writing in another community, and introduces a parallel development into his own community, inventing an inventory of graphs, and the second, where an outsider adapts an existing script and brings it into a community as a putative benefit (xxxvi). In instances of the first sort, divine inspiration through a dream is a recurring motivating source of symbols (578). In the second the initiative of Christian missionaries (26, 579, and see index) and the contribution of organizations such as (United) Bible Societies (6) and others (779) is prominent. Similarly the introduction of the Korean Hankul script was a move intended to turn people from Confucian to Buddhist ideals (26). Islamic and Soviet ideals provide two other powerful ideological motivations, and repeatedly religion and political aspirations are primary vectors.

The note inside the front flap of the dust jacket makes the claim that this volume 'is the only comprehensive resource covering every major writing system'. It is certainly by far the most comprehensive I have seen, and has achieved amazingly wide coverage. It is encyclopedic! The claim, however, will be slightly mitigated in following discussion. The best way to review it seems to be to follow its own wide-ranging discussion.

The Table of Contents (17 pp.) lays out the coverage in detail, including the sub-headings within each chapter-section. This is followed by a list of contributors (9 pp.), a Preface (3 pp.), and a list of Abbreviations, Conventions and Definitions (over 6 pp.) to complete the entroit. (As here, I shall use capitals in what follows to indicate capitalized title-words in the text without employing quotation marks.)

The list of contributors provides a brief professional biographical summary of all seventy-nine contributors (9 pp.) which vary in length. A number of names will be well known to readers of *Notes on Linguistics*, while others are specialists in different academic fields. The two editors themselves exemplify this diversity. The wide range of contributing scholars is one of the strong features of this work, distinguishing it qualitatively from predecessors, which are the work of a single scholar.

The Preface first of all justifies the work. Surveys of the world's languages may or may not include mention of writing systems, but 'almost never' (xxxv) explain how the script functions. Even previous surveys of writing systems fail here, and are 'with one exception, the noble work of dedicated

individuals' (ibid.), whereas the present work is a compilation from a large number of specialists. The uniform approach adopted towards each script is explained; it is intended not only to present the graphs of each script, but also to describe how the script works in practice and exemplify it. In practice, the explanation of how a script works is a little too confident! Some efforts are more transparent than others when it comes to trying it out. The 1989 International Phonetic Alphabet is used throughout for transcription, which invaluably gives us a single frame of reference. In fact this is an over-strong claim; s̈, r̈ and others appear here and there. In fact it is not as clear as the preface claims that IPA transcriptions and phonetic values are used throughout. Occasionally a phonetic description leaves one a little puzzled. A short overview of the book's organization into thirteen Parts is given, and the part played by the editorial introduction to each Part noted. The Preface closes with a long acknowledgement to those who have provided fonts and composited the text. Until recently, with the development of computer fonts for non-Roman scripts, a volume like this could only have provided hand-written facsimiles. In the excitement, it is easy to let slip the fact that until the computerized scripts of the last decade almost all writing was handwriting! Technology has a curious way of flattening and skewing our historical perspective.

The list of Abbreviations, Conventions and Definitions is useful, considering the wide background of the varied readership of a volume of this sort. Defined concepts use lower case for the entry word, and abbreviations employ SMALL CAPS. Conventions covers brackets and diacritics. It is a moot point whether separate lists would have helped—but a small one. A number of useful definitions are given here which conveniently draws together the technical terminology of a broad field. At some point all readers will be glad of such help. As an example, LOGOSYLLABARY is helpfully defined as 'a type of writing system whose characters denote morphemes, and a subset of whose characters can be used for their phonetic syllabic values without regard to their semantic values'. Since one repeatedly comes across terms undefined in the text, the list saves the reader from inferring the intended denotation. GLYPHS somehow slip through the net, and are not included in the index either. LOGOGRAPHIC is also missing, and could easily have been included with LOGOGRAM, which is given. CONSONANT and VOWEL both include the vague expression 'a brief portion of an utterance', while SYLLABLE is omitted. Both consonant and vowel have disjunctive definitions which could have been more saliently indicated. FORTIS (and LENIS) are defined as 'of certain consonants, pronounced with more (less) energy (opposed to lenis (fortis); e.g., English voiceless (voiced) stops', which only communicates clearly to the initiated. But these are quibbles. The list on the whole is useful; tracking down ABECEDARY, ABJAD,

ABUGIDA, ALLOGRAPH, ALPHASYLLABARY, and AMBISYLLABIC would be more tedious without it (although see Section 1: Grammatology and the comprehensive index).

The text proper (892 pp.) is followed by a densely typeset index (27 pp.), a list of corrigenda (seventy-four corrections are given—remarkably few for a work of this size and complexity), and a colophon (1 p) which lists the computer fonts used for the many special characters included throughout this work. The 1989 revision of the IPA decorates both end papers. The index shows signs of being very complete, and might have been slightly easier to use if it had listed languages and personalities separately from topics, but this is a personal preference only. There is a reasonable degree of cross-referencing; see p. 835, for example.

The text is organized around individual scripts, rather than topically, and is set out in thirteen major Parts. These Parts are arranged chronologically, starting with the earliest known writing systems, and are only incidentally regional, although each is regionally consistent. Each Part contains a brief Introduction (1-2 p) and one or more of the 74 sections or chapters which make up the volume. Peter Daniels has written a number of these one-to-two-page introductions to each Part (as well as several major sections) and these are worth reading themselves. Daniels comments are pertinent, informative, and frequently memorable. Most sections are the work of a single author. In a few, major subsections are contributed by different authors. For example, Section 3 on the cuneiform scripts of ancient Mesopotamia has three contributing authors; Section 59 on adaptations of the Roman alphabet is jointly authored by no less than eight scholars. Each section includes some historical notes on the development of the script under discussion, the inventory of symbols, and a discussion of how the script functions, a well-glossed sample text, and its own bibliography. Transcription into the IPA is provided, so that a standard frame of reference is achieved. The following summary of the major Parts indicates the scope and thoroughness of the work. Criticisms will be made in the place where they are most appropriate.

Part I (18 pp.), comprising a single Section entitled Grammatology provides a general overview to the study of writing systems. Writing is defined here as 'a system of more or less permanent marks used to represent an utterance in such a way that it can be recovered more or less exactly without the intervention of the utterer' (3). This concept of writing excludes pictographic or other art representations; rather, at some level 'a writing system [must] represent the SOUNDS of a language' (ibid.) whether as words, morphemes, syllables, consonants or phonemes. The article claims there are

six distinctive types of script: ALPHABET, LOGOSYLLABARY (characters denote words or morphemes; the definition is not quite the same as that given in the introductory list referred to already), SYLLABARY, ABJAD (a consonantal script such as Arabic, from whose initial letters the word is coined), ABUGIDA (where each letter shape denotes a specific CV sequence such as Ethiopic, from whose initial letters the word is coined), and FEATURAL writing (where each graph represents a set of phonological features of each sound. The article is otherwise a brief historical review of the study of writing systems, since interest in it first developed, through the Renaissance.

Part II (118 pp.) covers the Ancient Near East in seven sections; these provide in turn an overview of the 'forerunners' of writing—the Mesopotamian cuneiform scripts, Egyptian, Meroitic, early Semitic, Iberian, Berber, Anatolian, Aegean (the famous Linear A and B among others), and Old Persian Cuneiform.

Part III (50 pp.) is on decipherment of the written records of now-vanished writing communities. The problem arises when the written tradition of a society lapses, frequently because of massive change in socio-political success. At a later time, fragments of a written corpus are rediscovered, and the question of interpretation arises. The language may now be extinct, or a historically earlier form of an extant language, but there is no extant interpretation of the script. Frequently there is no clue to linguistic affinity. Recovery comprises two processes: the discovery of written records and their decipherment. The process of decipherment, generally complicated by the brevity of the available text corpus, is one of code breaking. The string of signs needs to be interpreted and the linguistic string needs to be glossed. The distribution of signs (in initial or final position), the recognition of proper names, and (most helpful of all) the availability of bilingual inscriptions assist in the decipherment process. (See 28, 139ff.) Following this overview of methodology and a brief survey of the decipherment of a number of individual (well-known) cases in Section 9 (twelve are listed), there are four focused studies on the proto-Elamite, Indus, Mesoamerican, and Easter Island Rongorongo scripts occupying the following sections.

Seven sections cover Chinese, Japanese and Korean, the extension of the Chinese influence into the Yi and Tangut, Kitan and Jurchin (Tibetan family) scripts of 'Inner Asia', and a closing section on Asian Calligraphy in Part IV on East Asia. The first three named are Sinitic scripts, so-called because the influence of Chinese extends to the borrowing (and adaptation) of graphs, whereas the scripts of Inner Asia are Sinoform, by which is meant that the influence of Chinese was impressionistic and did not extend to the

borrowing of specific forms. Treatment of the historical spread and development of the Sinitic scripts gets nicely to the heart of things, and includes discussion of the Korean Hankul letters. The closing section on Asian Calligraphy deals with the raising of calligraphy to a high art form, often with religious significance. The repeated tendency toward secularization of script and writing under the influence of religious perceptions and understanding of the divine (i.e. Islam 244f; Buddhism 247, 249; mantras 244, 247; and talismans 244, 249) or human personality (Chinese 247f; Japanese 249) comes over well. Calligraphy and the Roman alphabet is covered in Section 24 (312-332), where the typically European non-secularization of calligraphic form stands in marked contrast. Can we wonder that it is Europe that invented the ballpoint pen, a mass-produced implement for mass use, purely utilitarian, and with interest in 'a fair hand' eventually ignored!

Nine sections are devoted to European scripts in Part V (112 pp.), ranging from the westward transmission of Phoenician through Greek, Anatolian languages, Coptic and Gothic, to the scripts of ancient Italy (Etruscan and others), and the Roman alphabet. The consonantal North Semitic scripts spawned developments in three directions—eastwards through Aramaic to India and south Asia, to the Manchu Empire of Mongolia, and westward into Europe, through Phoenician to Greek, and evolving into the alphabet in the process. Section 21 deals with this westward transmission, the basis of which was the innovative use of what were originally consonantal letters (centered on Chomsky's class of glides) to transcribe vowels and distinguish long and short qualities. The transfer of letters for phonetically similar sounds, the loss of redundant letters for non-existent sounds, and the addition of 'new' letters for sounds unknown in Phoenician are processes basic to the adaptation of all letter scripts (abjad, abugida and alphabet). The westward and eastward developments eventually ran into each other when the Spanish reached the Philippines via Central America and the Pacific Ocean in the late 16th century CE (474). The establishment of the Roman alphabet in Europe, first through the Empire of Rome, then the spread of Christianity throughout Europe, the 15th century invention of printing, and its subsequent dissemination through world exploration from Europe, is well-known. Discussion here includes mention of the development of handwriting styles during the medieval period. Although handwriting evolution is covered briefly in Section 24 in connection with the Roman alphabet, the manual transmission of manuscripts is nowhere covered. This is unfortunate, since both in Qur'ânic and Massoretic transmission, and Catholic and Orthodox handling of manuscripts in the period broadly from the commencement of the Christian era until the expansion of printing in the 15th and 16th centuries, there is much that deserves mention and bibliographic reference in

such a volume. Scribal practice and quality control, the rise of scriptoria, and the persistence and handling of textual variants are obvious aspects, deserving at least some attention since together these religious traditions provide a massive history of manuscript transmission. This must be true also of religious communities in East and South Asia, if to a lesser extent because of the different role of a scripture in the faith communities there. Calligraphy in Asia is covered (Section 20). Part V continues with separate sections on to the Runes and Ogham of northern Europe, and three final sections on Slavic languages—Armenian and Georgian—in which translation of the Christian scriptures was a motivating force.

South Asia (Part VI, 73 pp.) includes eleven sections on scripts of the Indian sub-continent, covering Brahmi and Karoshthi, Devanagari, Gujarati, Gurmukhi (for Punjabi), Bengali, Oriya, Sinhala, Kannada and Telugu, Malayalam, Tamil, and the Tibetan script and derivatives. The earliest script is the still undeciphered Indus Valley script of the 3rd millenium BCE, which fell into disuse sometime in the second millenium. Brahmi and Karoshthi seem to have arisen some 500 BCE, most probably from a Semitic precursor, and it is the former which became associated with Sanskrit and the Vedas, and in later developments spreading outwards from northern India and across as far as south-east Asia. Writing in the Indian sub-continent never achieved the status it did in other cultural areas, even for the transmission of sacred texts. This has affected the development of durable materials, the available corpus of ancient records, and the continued low status of the office of clerk.

The spread of Indic-based scripts is dealt with in the five sections on South East Asia in Part VII (43 pp.), covering Burmese, Thai and Lao, Khmer, insular south-east Asia (Indonesia and Philippines) after an initial section on the Spread and Indigenization of Brahmi and other Indian scripts in the region. The Indianization resulting from the spread of Indian culture and religion through Southeast Asia was instrumental in this spread; until the arrival of Islam, the only Chinese influence was seen in the Vietnamese script. Islamic influence grew in the second quarter of the present millenium, to be followed by European influence through Portuguese and Spanish colonization westwards and eastwards following the Treaty of Tordesillas (not referred to in this volume). During this millenium Indian, Islamic, European and Chinese influence left its mark on scripts—as on most other aspects of culture.

Middle-Eastern (Part VIII, 90 pp.) covers the Semitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic) and the extension of the Aramaic script to both Iranian and Altaic (medieval Turkish, Manchu and Mongolian among

others) languages in six sections. Both Hebrew and Arabic utilized consonantal scripts, and both (although the Arabic development came more than a thousand years later than the other), employed writing for the preservation of sacred text. In both communities such importance was attached to the sacred perfection of the scripture that growing need for vocalization led to the development of systems that did not interfere with the linear string of consonants. Christianity carried scriptal developments into the emerging Syriac and Ethiopic churches in the early centuries CE. Mandaic, a little-known Aramaic language, is still used by a small Gnostic group in Iraq and Iran. Dhivehi, of the Maldive Islands, related to Sinhala, utilizes a script influenced by Arabic. Disappointingly, Section 51 on Ethiopic is devoted exclusively to Gi'iz, omitting all reference to Amharic and other modern Semitic usage, as well as the extension of the Amharic Fidel (a set of graphs, each one being a CV syllable) to Cushitic, Omotic and Nilotic languages in recent years. This is more regrettable when it is recognized that these language families have quite different vocalic systems from the asymmetric seven vowels of Amharic, and adapters have combined linguistic insight with ingenuity. Extension and adaptation of scripts belongs either here or in Part X; perhaps this small indeterminacy led to accidental oversight in this case.

Part IX (48 pp.) presents six short sections, which consider Scripts Invented in Modern Times. 'Why invent a script?' asks Daniels in the Introduction. Commerce, oracular utterances, and astronomical information lie behind the Mesopotamian, Chinese and Mesoamerican developments respectively, as far as can be ascertained, and the sacred wisdom of religion is a pervasive influence. Ancient scripts are frequently given by the gods, and a dream origin is a common motif claimed by modern inventors too. The value of writing for non-religious prose literature is a late development, coming slowly and receiving its first major impetus from the invention of printing. It is in this Part that mention is made of the Cherokee and Cree syllabifies, the West African N'ko (Mandingo) and Vai scripts (as representative of some sixteen West African languages for which indigenous scripts were invented in nineteenth and twentieth centuries; no mention of the minor Ejagham attempt on the Cameroon-Nigeria borderland), Munda languages (Central India) and Hmong (South-East Asia), and the curious Pollard and Fraser efforts (both Christian missionaries) of the early 20th century in South East Asia as well as Bamum (Cameroon), Ndjuka Creole (Suriname), Woleiai (Caroline Is.) and the Alaska script. Even Tolkien's Tengwar and Angertha runes and the Klingon script of television's *Star Trek* receive a passing mention (582, 583). Unsophisticated efforts typically lead to syllabifies or logosyllabaries, presumably from the psycholinguistic recognizability of syllables in isolating and some non-agglutinative language types.

Part X covers the Use and Adaptation of Scripts; five sections in 138 pp. Following a section on the functional classification of scripts, consideration is given to Roman, Cyrillic, Hebrew and Arabic scripts. While this is well done as far as it goes—Roman adaptation covers Romance, Germanic and Celtic languages and a number in southern and eastern Europe, African languages (2 pp.) and Vietnamese (4 pp.)—it is heavily Europe-centered, and scarcely a comprehensive or adequate cover. In view of the current wave of interest in minority vernaculars and the anticipated ground swell of language shift and loss, it is surely unfortunate that the flurry of efforts in minority language over the past half century receives such brief mention. This is perhaps at its most acute when a mere two pages is devoted to Africa, continental home to one third of the world's languages. In contrast, Section 62 on Adaptations of the Arabic Script is more representative. As noted for Part VIII, no comment is made on the extension of the Gi'iz or Amharic Fidel to non-Semitic languages, except for passing mention to Oromo (formerly Galla) in the late nineteenth century (580). In Asia, only Vietnamese is mentioned, and in the New World nothing whatsoever. Section 66 on 'Christian Missionary Activities' can make little impact on these omissions within its scope of three pages, and yet these activities are recognized as major initiatives (see comments on pp. 558f). Finally, the complexity of tonal systems in many of the world's languages and the efforts made to find workable tone-marking orthographies receive no attention. This topic seems to deserve a section to itself. The modern spread of enscripturating activity into additional communities is woefully neglected, in regional as well as religious terms.

The development in modern Africa from the Africa Alphabet (690) of Carl Richard Lepsius (690, 835f inter alia) through to the IPA tradition is covered in a fragmentary fashion, and the IPA itself (rather briefly in Section 71. For the history of the IPA see 823f, 828 (fig), 831f, 921f).

Remaining sections are not organized regionally, and it is appropriate here to note that there is nothing said of Meso- or South American, Austronesian, Papuan or Australian stocks. In a book of comprehensive intent, 'major' is not to be defined in terms of reader/writer populations, but rather in terms of what has been attempted, and of innovations, and something is lost by the total neglect of these groupings.

Sociolinguistic aspects form Part XI—a meagerly 22 pages. This includes sections dealing with ethno-political ramifications of scripts (only German is discussed here—there is no mention of Hindu-Urdu or other celebrated cases) and the coexistence of different scripts in a community (only Serbo-Croatian—no mention of either Islamic contexts, or Somali (580, 744), for

example, where cross-references to what is said elsewhere would have been useful), the contribution of Christian missionary activity and script reform (this last is restricted to the case of the Former Soviet Union—not even Dutch gets a mention. Soviet attempts to replace the Korean Hankul script are mentioned on p. 223 but not in this section). Since sociolinguistics is (perhaps over-ambitiously) included as a Part of this work, one would have expected something much more substantial, with perhaps the orthographic aspects of language planning in the two-thirds world, as well as reform in major international languages receiving some attention at least. This sense of marginalization is increased when almost 100 pages are devoted to secondary notations in Part XII which follows.

Secondary Notation Systems (Part XII, 96 pp.) devotes successive sections to the Alphabet as a Technology, numerical systems, shorthand, phonetics and musical notation, and finally notational systems for movement. Important and intriguing as these are (and reluctance to totally exclude them is understandable) their inclusion does serve to point up the paucity of the preceding section—perhaps the most inadequate in the volume.

Part XIII rounds off the volume with a single section. The Part is entitled Imprinting and Printing, and the Section 'Analog and Digital Writing'. Once again there is room for some criticism in making this the only contribution. It is not hard to think of other issues that ought to have found place here.

While the work is vast, at over 900 pages, and expensive, the omissions noted above are unfortunate. When such an ambitious project was conceived, such huge effort put in to make it comprehensive, and so much achieved, it is unfortunate that the areas of the extension and adaptation of scripts to languages other than their linguistic home, the manual transmission of texts prior to the days of print, and the sociolinguistic interface were not more adequately covered. These topic areas concerning the transmission of inscribed human language are at least as central to a comprehensive work as some of those included at length for recording non-speech information. On more than one occasion, one could have wished for more charts of language family relationships and of the historical spread of scripts (not single characters) into other communities. The visual benefits of these would have been appreciated. Nevertheless, in spite of these criticisms, the work is a tremendous achievement . The success in readers' eyes of an encyclopedic work of this sort must be the wish that it had said a little more, undershadowed by the tickle of frustration that it didn't. Understood in this way, Daniels and Bright have given us a fascinating volume that will earn its place in reference libraries.

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Reviews

Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework by BERND HEINE, ULRIKE CLAUDI and FRIEDERIKE HÜNNEMEYER. 1991.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 328 pp., Paperback $26.50.
and
Auxiliaries, Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization by BERND HEINE.
1993. New York: Oxford University Press. 172 pp., Hardback $55.00.

Reviewed by REGINA BLASS
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These two works on grammaticalization are not very recent publications, but the topic of grammaticalization is one that should be of considerable interest to field linguists. Heine is one of the more widely read and cited authors writing in this subfield of linguistics. For this reason it seems appropriate to draw *Notes on Linguistics* readers' attention to these important works. Since the two books have similar aims and lend themselves to similar evaluation, I treat them together. Indeed the first (1991) is the basis of the second (1993).

In the 1991 book, the authors begin their study on grammaticalization by introducing the major theoretical proposals in the domain, among these are the localism approach and natural grammar theory, dealing with the process of converting regular lexical items and structures into conventionally interpreted grammatical morphemes. Traditionally this change has been perceived as a syntactic or morphological process. This book opposes theories that describe language as a static system, as well as those which assume that linguistic categorization is based on discrete morpheme types, word classes or sentence constituents. They provide evidence mainly from African languages about how speakers use concrete forms as a basis for the creation of more abstract concepts - usually via the use of metaphor or conventional implicature - and how chains of grammaticalization can be traced. Somewhere in the middle of this chain, 'hybrid' forms can be found between two separate categories where multiple interpretation is possible. This poses a problem for discrete-morpheme-view grammars.

The concrete forms which then undergo change have a very similar source in many languages. They constitute some of the most basic human activities, such as *do/make*, *take/hold*, *finish*, *say*, or movements such as *go*, *come*, *leave*, or *arrive*, or states such as *be/exist*, *be at*, *sit*, *stand*, *lie (down)*,

stay/live. Some concepts expressing desire (*want/like*) or obligation (*shall/ought to*) also provide source items in some languages. Human nouns, such as *person*, *man* and body parts and in the non-human area, landmark expressions provide the stock of source concepts. The source usually changes from object to space, to time, to cause, to purpose; from concrete to abstract; from conceptual to grammatical. The more the conceptual level is impoverished, the more the grammatical and pragmatic functions increase. So the change induces loss and gain. Grammaticalization as the result of a process involving a transfer from concrete to abstract domains of conceptualization on the one hand and conversational implicatures and context-induced reinterpretation on the other, leads to the emergence of grammaticalized structures as the conventionalized, frozen, or fossilized product of those cognitive activities. The authors further assume that there exists a recursive cycle. Once a given grammatical form declines or disappears, a new form tends to be recruited on the same conceptual pattern as the old one, with the result that a kind of morphological cycle emerges (see Lord 1976; Heine and Reh 1984:72-74).

The authors claim not to have a detailed explanation as to what cognitively motivates the grammaticalization processes, except that creativity, especially noticed in creation of new metaphors, is a major driving force.

A key element to the authors' theory is captured in their term 'grammaticalization chain', which refers to a specific kind of linguistic category and which cuts across morpheme types, word classes and has both a synchronic and diacronic dimension.

In chapter 9 the authors propose that what a linguist should consider is not synchrony and diachrony, but panchrony. As an outcome of their grammaticalization study they propose that a grammatical theory needs to be based on both synchrony and diachrony, because both are interlinked and one cannot be understood without the other. Moreover, the theory needs to incorporate the 'hybrid' phenomena in grammatical analyses, which are part of natural language.

Heine's 1993 work has the development of auxiliaries as the subject of the entire book, taking the same change mechanisms into account as introduced in the earlier work. In this study, he shows how a number of theories, especially, various versions of Generative Grammar have argued either for or against a separate AUX-node, not considering the in-between grammatical-category nature of the phenomena under consideration. Such a theory neglects the fact that language is always undergoing change and that there may be true in-between category stages. Heine therefore claims that syntactic

theory needs to consider cognitive forces, pragmatic manipulation and historical change.

While it is easy to get lost in the enormous detail that is to be found in the books, it is fascinating for anyone interested in linguistics to read them from the first to the last page. Field linguists especially will discover that there is a lot of similarity to what they have found in the languages they have worked in. Moreover, there may well be some odd phenomena in the field language that the linguist has not fully have understood before, but which these works shed light on. This is exactly what happened to me!

The field linguist may also encounter material that adds to or contradicts what is proposed in these two works. This was the case with me as well. For instance, it is claimed that the action verb *seize* may develop into a possessive *have* thus metaphorizing the result of the activity. The authors suggest that only *seize* is metaphorized that way. In Sissala, a Niger-Congo, Gur language, in addition to *seize*, perception verbs like *see* and *hear* also can be metaphorized this way. A Sissala can *see work* when he *has work* and *hear* is used for *understand*.

The content of the book is not only fascinating, it is helpful for understanding actual lexical and grammatical phenomena in natural language. This is exactly in line with the authors' aim. Both books cite descriptive work of quite a few field linguists, among them SIL members. This is an area where descriptive field linguistics can make an important contribution.

To me, the weakest points in the books are their cognitive explanations. While their account rings true generally, it would have been helpful for the authors to provide specific analyses of these conversational implicatures and creation of metaphors. It is puzzling to me that they make a distinction between creative change via metaphor and conversational implicatures. It is as if a creative methaphor does not have as much to do with context and implicatures as conversational implicatures do. Within the framework of Relevance Theory, Sperber and Wilson (1995:172-243) give a detailed account of the analyses of the creative metaphor in terms of strong and weak implicatures.

Also the discussion of individual changes could have been more explanatory. For instance rather than simply stating that *say* can change into a complementizer introducing *know*, *hope*, *believe*, etc., one could explain that these verbs introduce a proposition that does not describe the real world– instead they represent a proposition in the speaker's mind. To mention what these verbs share would have contributed to a cognitive explanation.

Another weakness is that they have not proposed a real cognitive motivation for grammaticalization except for the vague notion of creativity. Can creativity alone be the motivation for change? I would say no! The authors' own comments about the relationship between diachrony and synchrony are relevant here. Synchronic processes are commonly explained these days in terms of pragmatic motivations. Since Grice (1975) , several cognitively based communication models have been developed which point out that the speakers and hearers have certain standards (maxims, principles) which they follow, in order to interprete the speaker's intention and which have an impact on the linguistic structure.

For instance Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1996) claim that humans in general are guided by relevance, whereby relevance is defined by achieving cognitive effects and least processing effort. The creativity that the authors have noticed could be explained with the speaker's aim to communicate and achieve cognitive effects in the hearer's mind as effectively and as effortless as possible. Metaphor according to Sperber and Wilson is chosen because it usually communicates over and above what literal concepts would communicate, since it usually conveys weak implicatures together with the obvious strong ones. Once conceptual change has occured, the speaker may find that not all of the morphology which was used for the concrete items is necessary to guarantee understanding. In order to save processing effort, the form will be reduced. Now this new form may undergo creative change again for the same reason. At some point what the speaker creates may not be a new concept but a marker that has no other use then guiding the hearer's processing to derive a certain interpretation. These markers can be pronouns, determiners, aspectual and temporal markers and pragmatic particles etc.

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Parameters of Slavic Morphosyntax. By STEVEN FRANKS. 1995. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. New York: Oxford University Press, . 425 pp., Cloth $75.00, paper $39.95.

Reviewed by JOHN M. CLIFTON
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I asked to review this book as a student of Russian, not as a syntactician. I hoped that it might shed some light on some of the puzzling aspects of Russian morphology. Fortunately it does. In addition, while the analysis is developed within a formalist framework, the book deals with issues of interest to those working in other frameworks as well.

While this book is written in the Principles and Parameters model of Government and Binding theory, it is intended for both Slavic and general linguists. Therefore (vii):

> ... although it assumes a familiarity with the basic concepts of GB theory, it explores recent developments within the theory that should be of interest to Slavists, and it makes Slavic data available to syntacticians, developing new analyses within the confines of GB theory.

Franks generally succeeds in making the arguments accessible to both groups. Although it is definitely not easy reading, I found that with the background in GB provided by Black (1996-97), it was possible even for a phonologist to follow most of the theoretical discussion. For this reason, the book will be of interest to those who want to get a good idea of the application of the Principles and Parameters model to specific language data.

I will not evaluate the actual proposals presented in the book. (Rappaport (1996) discusses some of the more interesting proposals.) Instead, I propose to give a brief overview of the book and mention some of the more general issues that are illustrated.

The preface and chapter 1 present a general introduction to the GB model of syntax. (The preface really is part of this introduction; it establishes background and purpose, and defines the 'projection problem' referred to in chapter 1.) In chapter 2 Franks suggests that the eight morphological cases of Russian should be accounted for in terms of four binary features. These features are used to account both for markedness and for morphological syncretism (where multiple case relations are marked with identical affixes). Chapter 3 is devoted to showing that these case features help account for patterns of grammaticality in conjoined phrases. For example, the Polish equivalent of *the boy Maria likes and Ewa hates* is grammatical while the

equivalent of *the girl who Janek likes and Jerzy hates* is not. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with case relations in quantified structures—one of the most complex aspects of Slavic morphology. Case agreement between secondary predicates and their antecedents is discussed in chapter 6. Finally, Franks deals with null subject phenomena and voice alternations in chapters 7 and 8, respectively, before a final summary chapter. As can be seen, Franks covers an impressive range of constructions in this book.

Most of these constructions have been extensively discussed in the literature; they are puzzles familiar even to language learners. For example, every student of Russian is taught that nouns are in the nominative singular after the numeral '1' (except for '11'), the genitive singular after '2' through '4' (except for '12' through '14'), and the genitive plural after other numbers, but only if the noun phrase is in the nominative or accusative position; otherwise ... and the 'rule' continues. Franks' contribution, then, is not in bringing to light new phenomena but in proposing that old puzzles can be solved by looking at variation between related languages (374):

> My intent ... has been to demonstrate that by reconsidering familiar puzzles from the parametric perspective one can arrive at novel insights. ... I have come to understand that on the one hand fundamental differences often lie beneath superficially similar constructions, and on the other that simple oppositions often turn out to explain a host of superficially unrelated phenomena.

While for many researchers cross-linguistic variation is dealt with as an afterthought, it lies at the center of Franks' proposals.

If Franks' emphasis on cross-linguistic variation is correct, it has definite implications for those working in lesser-researched languages. When discussing well-researched languages like Russian and Polish, Franks frequently refers to languages like Upper and Lower Sorbian which have not been researched so thoroughly. In a sense, analysis of languages like Russian and Polish is dependent on analysis of languages like Upper Sorbian. The analysis of Upper Sorbian will 'require careful field work with native speakers ...' (138). If field workers are aware of the issues being discussed in related languages, their research may well have far wider implications.

Furthermore, Franks shows that formal analysis can bring to light aspects not previously noticed in well-researched languages. More than once, crucial examples come from personal communication. Evidently the point in question has not been discussed in the published literature. In one case, Franks (52) notices morphological patterning which has not been previously noted. In another context, Franks (161) mentions that there has been 'little

mention' of a particular type of phrase in Polish. In other words, even in such prosaic fields as morphology, there is considerable territory that has been insufficiently studied even in languages like Russian and Polish.

Finally, there are interesting cases where a 'fact' isn't a fact. Franks mentions quite a few disagreements between published examples (in both linguistic analyses and more traditional grammars) and native speaker responses. Some may be due to language change; some are evidently due to forced evaluations of acceptability (that is, while a particular form may be somewhat acceptable, another form is clearly preferable). Others seem to be due to variation within the language community. Yet another set of examples include when a sentence is acceptable, but with a meaning other than the one predicted by a particular theory. Some of these (for example, whether a sentence has a group or individuated meaning) may have implications for translation.

In general the book is free of errors, except for some incorrect reference numbers. (The worst of these is the reference to (118) instead of (155) on page 152.) Unfortunately, endnotes (at the end of each chapter) are used instead of footnotes. At the same time, two welcome indexes (name and subject) make it easier to trace particular ideas.

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Speech acts and conversational interaction. By MICHAEL L. GEIS. 1995. New York: Cambridge University Press. 248 pp., Hardback $54.95.

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As the title of the book says, speech acts are here brought together with conversational interaction. This is where they normally occur and where one would also expect that they be studied. Amazingly, traditional speech act theorists who have mainly dealt with isolated and fabricated utterances have never undertaken such a study.

If you have wondered just what makes traditional speech act theory inadequate for the analysis of natural conversation and would like to know what can be done to remedy this, then this book will interest you. It covers theoretical ground as varied as speech act theory, research on politeness and artificial intelligence. This does not make it light reading for the average reader. However, the author has a clear desire to make the book readable. Numerous examples (almost exclusively from English) of utterances and a few of whole conversations are a great help. Moreover, each chapter has an introduction where the claims to be substantiated in the chapter are presented, as well as a concluding summary; thus the book is extremely well articulated. An excellent index contains not only technical terms, but also names of scholars mentioned both in the book and bibliography; and also has a reference to key examples discussed in detail within the chapters.

The revisions of traditional speech act theory proposed by the author are substantial and result in a new theory of speech acts, which he calls Dynamic Speech Act Theory (DSAT). The basic theses of this new framework are presented as part of the first chapter and expounded further in the book. This is a commendable procedure, since it gives the reader the whole picture from the beginning.

One important departure from traditional speech act theory lies in the thesis that primary speech acts such as promising, requesting, and asserting are social rather than linguistic in nature and hence better viewed as communicative actions than as speech acts. Such communicative actions are carried out through 'interaction structures' rather than through individual utterances. Indeed, for Geis, the only rightful way to talk about a speech act is in referring to the so-called literal act. Thus, in uttering an interrogative sentence, the speaker conventionally produces the literal act of asking a question.

The notion of indirect speech acts also needs revision in the new framework. In chapter 5 Geis gives a very valuable critical evaluation of the three most famous theories of indirect speech acts (meaning postulates, conventions of meaning, and preference organization) and shows how his own theory relates to them. He also points out how counter-intuitive a description in terms of indirect speech acts can become if solely tied to syntactic form. Thus traditional speech act theory requires that the sentence *I need a ride home* has to be described as an indirect request, while the hearer intuitively perceives the utterance as most direct! For Geis, on the other hand, utterances like these are direct realizations of the so-called initial-state condition of an interaction structure. In the above example of a request, this

condition is the desire or need of the initiator for a ride to be provided by the responder.

Another core assumption of DSAT is that understanding an utterance involves understanding the type of interaction in which it occurs and not only the linguistic form. In chapter 2 Geis argues for pragmatic meaning as a separate level of meaning, which he calls utterance significance ('S-meaning') and which for him is radically different from conventional literal meaning ('L-meaning'), i.e. semantic meaning. Utterance significance in turn derives from and thus needs to be distinguished from speaker intention ('I-meaning'). However, speaker intention not only involves a so-called transactional goal (e.g. obtaining a ride), but also maintaining a good relationship with the hearer, i.e. an interactional goal. Utterances which obviously contribute nothing to the transactional goal of an interaction, but are just 'polite' are evidence of this. Consequently the significance of an utterance is either transactional or interactional or, in some cases, carries features of both.

It does not come too much as a surprise to the reader when Searle's well-known speech act structures (1969) are completely recast by Geis as interaction structures, although their basic architecture is not changed. An interaction structure underlies any conversational interaction. In chapter 3, Geis gives a critique of traditional speech act structures and then presents DSAT structures illustrating them through natural interactions (personal service requests, commercial service encounters, and invitations). What comes out in the discussion is how highly domain specific such interaction structures are. It is these that we learn and memorize as we grow up in our home cultures! As anyone with cross-cultural experience knows, it is very hard to learn the specifics of these structures and the available appropriate utterances when you enter and learn a new culture. Cross-cultural experience thus seems to be additional evidence for the fact that utterance significance is tied to interaction structures rather than to linguistic form.

So far so good, but how do we get from the interaction structures to the actual linguistic form of utterances, particularly conventionalized ones? Geis' answer to this question is the PRAGMATIC STRATUM, the most original and interesting part of DSAT—expounded in chapter 6. The task of this device, which the author claims is psychologically real, is to map elements of interaction structures into linguistic features. For instance, such a feature would be the non-hypothetical meaning of the auxiliary *would* in the request utterance *I'd like a hot chocolate*. Another one is the fact that this auxiliary is obligatory with the verb *like* in this type of request, while it does not occur with other verbs such as *want* or *need*, which are equally used to realize the

initial-state condition of a request, e.g., *I need a hot chocolate*. Finally the verb *like* is not to be understood here in its literal meaning. The pragmatic stratum is supposed to generate all these features in a fully formal manner through linguistic realization rules. These include thesaurus features (where *like* is for instance provided with the feature DESIRE and put in the same class as *want, need, desire*), politeness, style, and register features as well as node-admissibility conditions (e.g. VP[+modal]), thus 'no constituent may appear in an utterance unless it is stipulated to occur via some pragmatic or semantic choice' (160). This 'mini-treatment of communicative actions', as Geis names the exercise, becomes quite complex. However, the thrust of the approach becomes clear and is claimed to be 'sufficiently sound to warrant the attention of computer scientists, pragmaticians, semanticians, and others who have an interest in providing formal or computational accounts of conventions of use, including how they are generated and understood' (142). Geis himself has been involved in the creation of a computational model of utterance generation, a kind of 'conversational machine' which has been implemented with systemic grammar. The pragmatic stratum assumes in fact a feature-driven grammar capable of integrating syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic information, as is the case with Halliday's systemic grammar (1985).

One assumption which does not appear with the others at the beginning of the book but which is expressed throughout is that there is no need for any kind of calculation in terms of Grice's maxim of relevance. Instead, inferencing is highly automated and utterance meaning directly computed, at least in everyday interactions in familiar circumstances, in which Geis is mainly dealing. His view 'treats interaction structures as determining the possible "relevance" of utterances (in the sense of Sperber and Wilson, 1986) and requires that interaction structures be relatively highly articulated' (77). Thus DSAT seems compatible with and even a welcome complement to relevance theory, which to my knowledge has not yet been used to study whole conversations and all their features. After all, the model claims to be a cognitive approach to discourse structure.

In chapter 7, Geis contrasts his cognitive approach to discourse structure with the structural approach—in particular conversational analysis. One of his criticisms of the latter approach is that even though the sequential organization of conversation is mainly studied, structural core notions such as ADJACENCY PAIR or INSERTION SEQUENCE are not sufficiently explicit and therefore not testable. Moreover, the question must be asked whether sequential structure is really such an important aspect of conversation. In any case, the 'conversational machine' apparently does not need any information about the structural location of an utterance within a sequence in

order to generate or interpret it. Rather, the knowledge of interaction structures and the type of information contained in the pragmatic stratum are necessary and sufficient to achieve this. This may sound disconcerting to discourse analysts who deal exclusively with the sequential aspects of discourse but deserves to be considered if a discourse model is to be more than an effective discovery procedure.

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The polysynthesis parameter. By MARK C. BAKER. 1996. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. New York: Oxford University Press. 575 pp., Cloth $95.00, paper $45.00

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Polysynthetic Languages. On a scale measuring the productivity of word formation from one to ten, with isolating languages being a one and agglutinating languages being a ten, polysynthetic languages would be a twelve or thirteen. A polysynthetic language is, roughly, one in which nouns (usually, or perhaps always, direct objects) can be productively incorporated into verbs. One of the few examples of incorporation in English is *to baby-sit*. But this English example of incorporation falls short of the scope of the phenomenon in polysynthetic languages—for the incorporated noun *baby* cannot be referential (although the verb can still take a referential object, as in *I baby-sat their children*), whereas in polysynthetic languages the incorporated noun can refer, even in the absence of an overt object. The following example from the Mohawk language (Baker's (9b), 12) is typical:

Wa'-ke-nakt-a-hnínu-'.
FACT-1sS-bed-0-buy-PUNC
'I bought the/a bed.'

The noun *nakt* 'bed' has been incorporated into the verb, appearing between the inflectional affixes and the verb stem. The incorporated noun retains its referential status—that is, its ability to refer to a specific bed.

Baker defines polysynthetic languages as languages which employ incorporation productively in the sense that nouns and verbs which appear in incorporation constructions can also appear independently. By this definition, languages of the Eskimo family which employ noun incorporation are not polysynthetic because incorporation in Eskimo languages is obligatory with some verbs and disallowed with others.

Baker's Analysis. How do polysynthetic languages differ from other languages? One possibility is that polysynthetic languages are different in a number of individual ways so that for a language to be polysynthetic it must have each of those properties. Another possibility is that the range from isolating languages to polysynthetic languages is a continuum so that there is no firm division between nonpolysynthetic languages and polysynthetic languages. The view for which Baker argues, however, is that there is a fundamental parameter characterizing polysynthetic languages; set this parameter one way and you have a polysynthetic language, set it another way and you have a nonpolysynthetic language. The parameter is a part of 'Universal Grammar'. That is, a child learning a language has a built-in 'switch'; at some point in the learning process this switch is set to either 'true' or 'false'. The setting of this switch determines a great number of seemingly unrelated properties.

An analogy may help here. Suppose that when one bought a motorized vehicle, one had to decide on the number of wheels, the position of the engine and gas tank, the kind of seats, whether it had windows and doors, whether it was to have a steering wheel or a handlebar, etc. In fact, one does nothing of the sort: one decides to buy a car, a motorcycle, a pickup truck, etc., and most of these other properties are determined by that initial choice. Baker's claim is similar. If the child sets the polysynthesis switch to 'yes', a large number of other properties are predetermined.

Baker argues that the polysynthesis parameter amounts to the following condition on 'Morphological Visibility', or MVC (I use his formulation (1) on 496; he gives slightly different formulations elsewhere):

> A phrase X is visible for θ-role assignment from a head Y only if it is coindexed with a morpheme in the word containing Y via:
> (i) an agreement relationship, or
> (ii) a movement relationship.

In the context of noun incorporation into verbs, 'Y' is a verb, and 'X' is an NP argument of Y. θ-role assignment refers, very roughly, to such semantic roles as agent, patient, goal, etc. What the MVC means, then, is that in order for a noun phrase to be interpreted as filling one of these roles with regard to a verb, the verb must either bear an affix marking agreement with the noun phrase (case i), or the noun head of the noun phrase must be moved (incorporated) into the verb (case ii). A polysynthetic language is one of which the MVC holds; the MVC does not hold for nonpolysynthetic languages.[1]

Apart from incorporation of the object of the verb, what implications are there for a language in which the MVC holds? Baker shows how a number of other properties of polysynthetic languages—such as the absence of true quantifiers, the absence of infinitival clauses, the virtual absence of adpositional phrases, etc., result from the MVC. The chapters devoted to this demonstration will be of interest to all linguists although some readers may be inclined to skim the theory-internal argumentation.

Problems. Although the evidence which Baker brings to bear on his theory is taken primarily from Mohawk, after discussing a relevant construction in some depth in Mohawk, Baker gives an overview analysis of similar constructions in several other polysynthetic languages. It is clear from the examples Baker gives of quantifier-like words, weak crossover, and sloppy vs. strict ellipsis, that his is far from a superficial investigation of Mohawk. It would no doubt be of interest to other field workers to hear of his methods for training the native speakers who gave their grammaticality judgments on these constructions, which are often quite subtle.

In view of the depth (and breadth) of the work, this short review is not the place to propose alternative analyses for which a large book would be needed. Rather, I will content myself with a few short comments.

The position in the phrase structure of overt NPs which appear to be arguments of the verb (particularly subjects and objects) is a question of importance for Baker's arguments. He maintains that the overt NPs in

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[1] Strictly speaking, a polysynthetic language is one in which both parts (i) and (ii) of the MVC hold. A language for which only part (i) held would be a head-marking, but not polysynthetic, language. I return to this question later in the text.

polysynthetic languages are in fact adjuncts and that the real subjects and objects are attached to the verb as affixes or incorporated nouns. His arguments are of two kinds: those showing that overt NPs CAN be adjuncts and those showing that such NPs MUST be adjuncts. I found the former arguments more compelling than the latter (although both are dependent on theory-internal assumptions). For instance, Baker uses Weak Crossover effects to argue for particular phrase structure relationships.[2] But working in the theory of Lexical Functional Grammar, Bresnan (1995) cautions that weak crossover cannot be used as a diagnostic for phrase structure since (she claims) it is sensitive to both grammatical function (subject, direct object, etc.) and to linear order.

A second point concerns properties which Baker takes to be characteristic of polysynthetic languages. It seems likely that many of these properties hold of other nonconfigurational languages. The absence of certain kinds of quantifiers, for instance, is true of many languages (as Baker admits in footnote 20, 91). Other properties which Baker ties to the MVC (but which may be true of many nonpolysynthetic languages), include the absence (or rarity) of adpositions, infinitival clauses, and clausal subjects, and severe restrictions on the use of complement clauses—including a preference for direct quotation. Baker claims that while individual properties on this list can be found in other languages, the cluster of properties is a characteristic of polysynthetic languages—that is, languages which obey the MVC. However it is difficult to demonstrate this convincingly given the current stage of research. Many grammars of 'exotic' languages are insufficiently detailed, and even with detailed grammars alternative analyses are often possible. Suppose that it turns out that this cluster of properties can in fact be found among certain nonpolysynthetic languages. One might take this to show that Baker's explanation for these patterns is simply wrong. On the other hand, it might turn out that the set of nonpolysynthetic languages having this cluster of patterns in fact obey only part (i) of the MVC, not part (ii); i.e., they are head marking but not incorporating. Far from disconfirming Baker's explanation, such a result would extend it. In fact it is unclear why there should not be a class of languages which obey only part (i) of the MVC.[3] At first glance the facts do not seem to support this. To take

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[2] 'Weak crossover' refers to the distinction in acceptability in English between (i) and (ii) (Baker's example (106), 78). The italicized words are intended to be coreferential; *t* marks the position from which the *wh*-word has been extracted:

(i) *Who* t kissed *his* girlfriend?

(ii) **Who* did *his* girlfriend kiss t?

[3] Baker argues that languages for which only part (ii) of the MVC would hold do not, and cannot, exist; he remains agnostic on whether languages obeying just part (i) exist.

but one apparent counterexample, head marking languages are often analyzed as having adpositional phrases, while Baker argues that such phrases are incompatible with part (i) of the MVC. However, Nichols (1986:109) observes that what might appear to be adpositions in head-marking languages have sometimes been described as relational nouns. It may be that this alternative analysis could be reconciled with the MVC. (Baker himself develops such a reanalysis for polysynthetic languages.) Clearly this is an area for future research.

Another possible extension of Baker's theory is suggested by his discussion (chapter seven) of why noun incorporation happens in polysynthetic languages. Baker claims that noun incorporation is forced in certain constructions by an interaction between the MVC and the need for nouns to be Case marked.[4] It is noteworthy that in many languages, such as English, nouns function in certain compound noun constructions as complements, filling the same thematic role that an *of* PP complement of the noun: *book review = review of a book, automobile inspection = inspection of an automobile*, etc. This parallelism is very reminiscent of the way nouns function in polysynthetic languages as incorporated complements of verbs (although in English, at least, the compounded noun does not seem to be referential). Perhaps something like the MVC can be seen as operating inside compound nouns so that the productive use of noun compounding in languages like English could be viewed as analogous to noun incorporation in polysynthetic languages.

Final Remarks. It is unusual to find scholarly works which give even lip service to religious themes, much less one which proposes a Judeo-Christian explanation for a fact of nature. Yet that is what Baker does, for in the final chapter he proposes a theological explanation for language diversity.

For a work of this length, there are very few typos (although I do not claim to have proofread the Mohawk words!). Spot checking revealed just a few: the verbal person marking prefixes are misglossed in examples (8a) and (8b) on 45 and example (11a) on 46 (they should be *MsS*, *FsS/MsO*, and *MsS*, respectively). I noticed only one or two errors in the cross referencing of examples—the bane of all linguists.

[4] The term "Case marking" is, in my opinion, unfortunate. It is used in recent generative syntax to refer to something that is much more like grammatical function marking (e.g. identification of arguments as subject or object) than traditional cases (nominative, accusative, etc.).

This book should be widely read among linguists working in a variety of languages even if they do not share Baker's theoretical stance.[5] The depth of Baker's analysis will doubtless suggest areas for further investigation in the syntax and morphology of languages for others, as it did for me.

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The Phonology of Dutch. By GEERT BOOIJ. New York: Oxford University Press, (Clarendon Press). 1995. 205 pp., Hardback $49.95

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This is the second in the series *The Phonology of the World's Languages* published by Clarendon Press, the first being *The Phonology of Slovak*, by Jerzy Rubach. I chose to review the book because of author Geert Booij's association with Rubach, a prolific phonology writer, and because I had always wanted to compare Dutch with German, which I had previously studied. While it is not an aim of Booij to show the distinctions between the two languages, it was of interest to me that Dutch and German demonstrate great similarity in the lexicon but are quite different morphologically.

The primary aim of this book is to provide insight into the entire phonological system of Dutch. Booij's goal is not to make advances in phonological theory—it is to exploit modern theory in describing a language.

[5] It is difficult to characterize Baker's theoretical stance precisely, both because he is intentionally somewhat eclectic (see his footnote 2, 35), and because linguistic theories themselves are in a state of flux. Suffice to say that if you are comfortable reading grammatical descriptions written within the Government Binding approach, you should have no problem understanding Baker's theoretical claims. For those uncomfortable with GB theory, the book can still be profitably read as a grammatical description of Mohawk—skipping over the theory-specific discussion.

Booij begins with an introduction, mostly of the sociolinguistics of the Netherlands and Belgium. Various aspects of the prosodic structure are examined next, beginning in Chapter 2 with the basic building blocks: vowel and consonant phonemes and their phonetic realizations, the representation of diphthongs and the schwa. Leaving the schwa as unspecified is key in Booij's analysis and this is evident in the remaining chapters of the book. The chapter ends with feature charts where binary and privative features are mixed in the same chart.

Chapter 3 is about the prosodic structure of words. This entails syllable and morphological structure. Booij makes astute decisions about the weight of certain segments, especially the vowels, allowing him to arrive at generalizations about the syllable template. A section on syllabic appendices (extra-syllabic material) explains the many cases of 'extra' consonants in clusters, as in English or German. One important distinction Booij makes is between lexical words and prosodic words. Prosodic words can be bound morphemes. This is so since they form their own domain of syllabification. Booij is also careful to explain clearly how he is using certain terms so that the reader can follow the argument fairly easily. This is important since Booij comes up with so many rules it is necessary to create the appropriate categories so that the rules only apply to certain morphemes. Perhaps too much space is given in this chapter to coocurrence restrictions (33-47).

Chapter 4 is entitled 'Word Phonology'. It is by far the longest chapter in the book. There are sections on morpholexical rules, phonological rules, allophonic rules, non-native allomorphy, and native allomorphy. It is important for the reader to pay close attention to Booij's use of each term, since rule application is affected by the domain which one is considering at a given time. Fortunately, Booij does a reasonably good job of defining his terms and walking the reader through the steps of a derivation in the different strata of the lexical phonology. (See 58-59.)

Chapter 5 deals with word stress. This is arguably the best chapter in the book. Booij covers Main Stress Patterns (5.2), Word Stress and Native Suffixation (5.3), Compound Stress (5.4), and Stress in Prefixed Words (5.5). Basic primary and secondary accent patterns are examined, rules are developed, applied and augmented to cases of suffixation. This is complicated by the fact that some suffixes carry stress and others do not. Booij makes a clear distinction between the two groups and how stress applies to them. Stress rule derivation in compound words is presented and developed clearly. This is especially important when accent in prefixed words is examined, since they behave like compound words—some even assigning main stress to the prefix.

Chapters 6 through 8 deal with the aforementioned phonological rules in connected speech. While Booij is again very thorough, much of what is presented in these chapters applies to rapid forms of speech and does not apply uniformly. One drawback of the presentation is the use of many powerful rules that at the same time have several exceptions. In Chapter 8 on clitics, Booij is for once unclear in defining a term. After explaining how clitics are adjoined to words he says that most of the time these (171)...

> ... function words that contain a full vowel [not a schwa] do not have to cliticize at all since they form prosodic words of their own. A clitic can be only a proclitic in sentence-initial position, and only an enclitic in sentence-final position.

It is not clear whether he means that function words become true clitics in those positions only or if clitics have other realizations in which they are not 'pro' or 'en'.

Chapter 9 is a welcomed explanation of Dutch orthography.

The text suffers from the occasional use of words or expressions that are not common English. This can, at best, make a passage sound a bit odd (1, final paragraph and 'denominal noun' on 73, example 42) and at worst fails to bring across the meaning the author intended (168, example 8: 'Clear off!'). There is also occasional unnecessary use of parentheses (6, second line of section 2.2.1).

Nevertheless, throughout the book Booij makes clear, thorough presentations of the data and his interpretation of it. He begins each chapter at a very basic level and walks the reader through the material. This is quite refreshing in linguistic literature and Booij provides us with a good example of what can and should be done in publishing phonologies of specific languages.

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Minimal ideas: Syntactic studies in the minimalist framework.
By WERNER ABRAHAM, SAMUEL DAVID EPSTEIN, HÖSKULDER THRÁINSSON and JAM-WEUTET ZWART, editors. Philadeophia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 1996. 374 pp., Paperback $29.95.

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This book is designed to be a basic introduction, or a textbook, to explain Chomsky's latest ideas. Epstein, Thráinsson and Zwart open the book with an introduction that explains the theory and previews the papers in this volume.

Government and Binding theory was given form by 1986. By 1988 and 1989 books and papers began to appear showing that the 'deep' structure was not needed and that the 'surface' structure could be greatly simplified. Later, Chomsky proposed a minimalist approach that begins with the lexicon and produces sentences that will be both phonetically acceptable and logically acceptable. The minimalist mechanism employs both universal PRINCIPLES that apply to all languages and particular PARAMETERS that apply to the language under study.

The Minimalist proposal eliminates the old Deep Structure and replaces the old Surface Structure with a SPELL-OUT rule that must be applied near the end of the derivation. The Spell-out has two components. One component produces the Phonetic Form that must meet all the articulatory-perceptual requirements of the language. The other component takes the sentence and converts it to a Logical Form that satisfies conceptual-intentional checking.

So the present work is twofold: 1) to determine what the minimal (simplest) set of universal principle structures should be, and 2) to determine what the minimal set of parameters should be for every language under investigation. Often, in the papers in this volume, both tasks are examined.

As part of the introduction, the authors review the papers in this volume, not sequentially but by the topics they cover. Many of the papers deal with the 'shortest' and 'simplest' rules for movement, and the processes of merging. Some papers deal with adapting the universal trees to other languages that have different word orders and different structures (from those in English).

Marcel den Dikken discusses the movement rules for accounting for the flexible word order of West Flemish. K. Scott Ferguson shows how the 'Shortest Move Requirement' can be used to derive certain structures. Erich Groat and John O'Neil propose a model in which spell-out is at the end of the process; no more movements after spell-out.

Liliane Haegeman uses West Flemish and French to show that both the A/$\bar{A}$ and the L/$\bar{L}$ distinctions must be kept. Dianne Jonas discusses the rules for movement in expletive clauses and in infinitival complement clauses in the several Scandinavian languages. Hisatsugu Kitahara shows how he can derive the scopes of quantifiers with the ordinary rules of movement and feature checking without recourse to the 'Quantifier Raising' rule, in such sentences as *Someone saw everyone*.

Geoffrey Poole discusses the two movement rules: MOVE-α and FORM CHAIN and discusses stylistic fronting in Icelandic complement clauses and free fronting in Japanese complement clauses. Jaume Solà suggests a way to handle inflected words, especially verbs, in the minimalist program. Höskuldur Thráinsson points out that different languages have different choices of functional categories and use them in different orders and combinations.

Guido Vanden Wyngaerd discusses the rules for accounting for the orders of the constituents in Dutch and German verb sequences. C. Jan-Wouter Zwart refines the notions of movement and chain forming.

In summary, each of the papers refines some area of analysis in the new paradigm of minimalism. Going minimal does not make the system any simpler—the problems are every bit as complex as in the older models.

In the Government and Binding model and earlier models, one started with a symbol for 'sentence' and then derived a tree that might correspond to some sentence in the language under study. In the minimalist model, one starts with a sentence and the given, universal tree and then devises a set of rules for movement and merging to make a tree that will describe the sentence. One can then study how the rules must be changed to describe other sentences in the same language, or one can study how the sets of rules differ for corresponding sentences in two or more different languages. If the derivation could be much simplified by changing the tree, one can propose a modification of the universal tree.

Minimal Ideas is a good introduction to the minimalist approach although it will help if the reader is already familiar with the Government and Binding theory before tackling this book. Many of the findings and ideas found in

GB theory are carried over into the minimalist theory. The paperback edition of this book is relatively inexpensive, and Minimalism promises to be the paradigm for academic circles for the next few years, so advanced linguists should be familiar with it.

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Mobilian jargon: Linguistic and sociohistorical aspects of a Native American Pidgin. By EMANUEL J. DRECHSEL. Oxford Studies in Language Contact. 1997. New York: Oxford University Press. 302 pp., Cloth $59.00.

Reviewed by WILLIAM J. SAMARIN
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This is an encyclopedic book, but that is not to say that it is daunting reading. It is rationally organized and lucidly written. The encyclopedic nature of the book is in its contents—in its comprehensiveness. One even gets an etymology for Tonto's *kemosabe* in The Lone Ranger I used to hear on the radio (27). The book is also beautifully designed and manufactured—one of the best works of scholarship I have seen in a long time, from the dust jacket to the printed page. It reveals an intelligent and artistic use of fonts, styles, tables, figures, and maps.

Appropriately enough, the book begins by creating a context for the understanding and appreciation of the pidgin by providing an overview of language contact and contact languages in North America. Here one can learn about Chinook Jargon as well, for which there are twenty-six citations in the index. Various hypotheses about the origin of this language, including my own hypothesis, are all treated with respect, objectivity, and perception. As one might expect, pidginization of native American languages is discussed (19-30 and more generally in the conclusion). Here, however, I am a bit disappointed because the author does not address himself explicitly to burning issues in the study of pidgins. Admittedly, the field of pidgin studies is not as well-defined as it should be—overwhelmed with

generalizations and qualifications. For example, I would have appreciated a more aggressive discussion of what a pidgin is.

The book has thirteen chapters in four parts. The parts are the following: (1) The study of Mobilian Jargon: perspective, theory, and methodology; (2) Linguistic aspects of Mobilian Jargon (55-200); (3) Sociohistorical aspects of Mobilian Jargon; (4) Mobilian Jargon in a broader perspective.

Since the literature on endogenous (i.e., non-European) pidgins is still scanty, this work is an important contribution to the study of pidginization. It is also another instance of one arguing for the pre-colonial existence of a pidginized lingua franca. People and languages being what they are, there is no a priori reason for insisting that pidgins have arisen only in the context of exploration and colonialism. If there are such languages, they are extremely valuable from a sociolinguistic point of view (using the word in a generous manner): that is, they lead us to understand the way human beings communicate with each other in specific contexts. Pidgins are of interest not only because they constitute a linguistic phenomenon, but also because they are the product of social phenomena.

The author has argued very well for Mobilian's being a lingua franca before Europeans arrived (a proposal that he modestly considers a hypothesis), but, as I have pointed out to him in correspondence over several years, an argument that would satisfy me more would include a thorough study of the occupation of the American southwest from the beginning until the 1700s, at which time, it is alleged, the language was being used over a certain area. In this work I find citations of de Soto's exploration of 1539-1543 and that of Juan Padro's of 1566-1568 (279). What happened in this area during the next one-hundred-and-fifty years? I myself do not know, but I would feel more comfortable about accepting a pre-colonial origin if it had been demonstrated that a full historical study had been undertaken. I realize how time consuming this is. Unsatisfied with the off-the-cuff claims about the origin of Chinook Jargon, I devoted three years to the study of trade and colonization in the Northwest. Not being a specialist in indigenous languages of that area, I may have been ignorant of strong linguistic arguments, but I did something that no one to my knowledge had done before. These remarks do not detract in any way, however, from the quality of this book; they will, I hope, inspire someone in the future to dig more deeply, and that person will have to acknowledge the tremendous contribution that Emanuel Drechsel had made in 1997.

Besides linguists in general, Americanist linguists (apparently a phrase that has replaced Amerindianist), and pidginists, this book will certainly have an appeal to American historians. The wording of that sentence is banal, but I

do believe in the importance of this book—a belief supported here by the titles of the sections in the elegantly written conclusion of a mature scholar: Mobilian Jargon in comparison with other native American pidgins; Linguistic convergence and pidginization in Americanist linguistics; Native American languages in the study of pidgins and Creoles; Linguistic persistence in Americanist anthropology and history; A philology and an ethnohistory of speaking of non-European non-standard languages; Towards a comprehensive, integrated model and theory of language change.

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An introduction to the languages of the world. By ANATOLE V. LYOVIN. 1997. New York: Oxford University Press. 519 pp., Cloth $75.00, paper $35.00.

Reviewed by UWE SEIBERT
SIL—Nigeria Group

When I read the title of the book under review, my first reaction was: 'Another introduction to the languages of the world? What good is it?' After all, aren't there are plenty of similar books on the market already?

For Lyovin, the need for another such book arose 'about twenty years ago when [he] began teaching a course on the languages of the world and found that there were simply no suitable textbooks for such courses' (VIII). In the preface to his own book, Lyovin acknowledges that there are 'several books entitled *Languages of the World*' (ibid.), but he remarks that most of these books 'deal only with different writing systems found throughout the world' and that 'it is only in recent years that up-to-date reference books on the languages of the world have appeared.' In his bibliography Lyovin cites a number of the latter, e.g. Comrie (1987), Bright et al. (1992), together with some of the more outdated, e.g. Meillet and Cohen (1952).

Now, what is the place of Lyovin's book among the many others? What is new about it? The answer to this question lies in the way Lyovin has structured the huge amount of information in his book, which is addressed to undergraduate linguistics students. He starts with a chapter on language classification, discussing not only genetic classification but also some well-known issues of morphological and syntactic typology. The second chapter is a short introduction to writing systems. The following five chapters survey the different language families of the world 'on a continent-by-

continent basis' (ibid.). Inside the chapters Lyovin follows a mixed geographical, genetic and sometimes typological approach in presenting the language families spoken on each continent. This is in line with the research situation of many languages which even today can only be tentatively classified—and not always genetically. Language families which are spoken on more than one continent are mentioned in several chapters, but described in the chapter on the continent of their main area of distribution. Chapter 8 is on pidgin and Creole languages.

In each of chapters 3-8, one or two languages are presented in a short sketch. These languages 'were chosen because of their typological interest and not the socioeconomic prominence of their speakers' (ibid.). One finds, for example, in the chapter on 'Languages of Europe' a sketch of Russian and Finnish, in the one on 'Languages of Asia' a sketch of Mandarin Chinese and Classical Tibetan, in the chapter on 'Pidgin and Creole Languages' a sketch of Tok Pisin. Each of these sketches covers in a concise but very clear manner the genetic classification of the respective language and some general information on it, its phonology, morphology, and syntax. At the end of each sketch there is a short sample text which is presented first in the language's usual writing system—then in a transcription with a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, notes, and a free translation.

Each chapter closes with exercises (mostly typological) and an extensive and partly annotated bibliography which is ordered by language families and covers recent literature and relevant older literature. In the appendix of the book one finds 29 language maps which are taken in a slightly altered form from Bright, et al. (1992). At the end of the book there is another bibliography, a language index, and a subject index.

Lyovin gives references to the sources of his information most of the time. Where he doesn't, he gives Grimes (1992), Ruhlen (1987) and Bright et al. (1992) as general sources 'for more details about the genetic classification of individual languages' (45) and Grimes (1992) 'for the numbers and distribution of speakers of various languages' (46).

In presenting the facts, Lyovin's 'aim has been to strike a balance between overwhelming the readers with too much detailed information about various languages and the controversies involving their genetic classification and giving too superficial an account' (45). In my opinion, he has been quite successful in this respect.

This book will prove very useful for any lecturer of linguistics who wants to teach a course on 'Languages of the World' or 'Language Typology'. It contains a wealth of interesting information and saves one from collecting all

this information by oneself. If one still wants to dig further into a particular language group, the bibliographies help find relevant literature. The book makes good reading and could be recommended to beginning linguistics students as a textbook.

In addition to these two groups, the field linguist may also find the book very helpful. In fact, I would recommend every SIL field entity have a copy of the book standing next to the latest edition of the Ethnologue, as it is often helpful to see the language one is tackling within a broader genetic and typological perspective.

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A Dictionary of Euphemisms. By R.W. HOLDER. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 470 pp., Paperback $13.95.

Reviewed by BARBARA THOMAS
SIL—Eastern Congo Group

Here's a book that will tell you how to talk about any subject that you aren't supposed to be talking about. Most represented are references to copulation, drunkedness, death, commerce, homosexuality and sexual variations, narcotics and police, for as the author states, we use euphemisms for evasion, hypocrisy, prudery or deceit. The author has compiled an alphabetized list of euphemisms, including only those still in literary or common use. This dictionary is user-friendly. Not only is the list alphabetized, but there is also an index which categorizes all euphemisms under one of 68 major subjects. A bibliography is also included. The author admits one weakness is that most of the euphemisms are collected from

England and Ireland. The widespread availability of English-written literature has somewhat balanced this and the reader will also find entries from the United States, India, South Africa and Australia.

I was unfamiliar with most of the euphemisms but found some amusing such as 'five-finger discount' which refers to stolen goods sold at below-market value. I've wondered why separate tabs in a restaurant was referred to as a Dutch treat and found my answer here under 'Dutch'. The historical note says that during the 17th century England was having trouble with the Low Countries and thus the derogatory meaning to anything labeled Dutch.

This book would be an interesting reference for a scholar of English literature but for most field linguists I'd recommend they 'take a powder'.

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French Correspondence. By NATALIE POMIER, ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 158 pp., Paper $7.95.

Reviewed by PAUL THOMAS
SIL—Eastern Congo Group

How often have I felt that I was missing something when corresponding in French, such as in form or in *formules de politesse* 'politeness formulas'? *French Correspondence* goes some way to meet this need, and even adds a few unexpected bonuses.

The book contains two short general sections: general advice on writing in French; and on proper use of the telephone, the Minitel and e-mail. Following is a 114 page section that consists of examples of correspondence to meet various needs. At the end is a short section on advertisements.

The section of general advice has three parts: the usage of French punctuation, a list of link words, and an example essay. The section on punctuation is very concise and clear. I imagine that it could function as a point of comparison for a language project's orthography description. It contains a few 'I-never-knew-that's, such as the rule that 'abbreviations which end with the last letter of the full word are not followed by a stop, unless they come at the end of a sentence. For example: *bd* for *boulevard.*'

I was surprised at the emphasis (a 4 page list) given to link words. The author notes that they are more frequent in French text than in English. She

also bolds all the link words in her example essay. I had never used the link words *en revanche* or *à l'inverse* for 'on the other hand'. Going back to my dictionary, I couldn't even find the expression that I had been using.

I regard the section on telecommunication, with its specialized phrases and sample conversations to be very useful to someone living in a Francophone country. There is a section on e-mail terminology including some sample e-mail screens and messages that would be useful in teaching a language consultant. Interestingly, both French e-mail examples lacked closing formulas, which would make French e-mail more informal than English e-mail, and much less formal than French non-electronic correspondence.

Next follows a lengthy section of sample letters. Unfortunately, a large number of these will probably not come into use for a field linguist or language learner. I could not see myself asking for a job or complaining about a late shipment. However, I could see some that could become useful, such as congratulations on a wedding, best wishes for the New Year, acknowledgment of debt, thanking a host family, postcard messages, giving notice to a landlord, personal and business faxes, meeting agenda and minutes, and curriculum vitae.

In all, given the low price, I see the book as giving pretty good bang for the buck, especially for language learners, entity business administrators or a branch library. For field workers, my recommendation is not as strong. It might be better to ask the branch librarian to get a copy for general use.

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The Grammar of Inalienability: A typological perspective on body part terms and the part-whole relation. By HILARY CHAPPELL and WILLIAM MCGREGOR, editors. Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 14. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Company. 1996. 944 pp., Cloth DM 398 (approx. $270 US).

Reviewed by DICK WATSON
SIL—Sudan Branch

Inalienability in grammar is a much broader and more widespread phenomenon than I had previously imagined. In spite of years as a field linguist in Viet Nam and graduate studies in linguistics, I don't remember hearing the term (apart from 'inalienable rights') until beginning linguistic

work in Africa. It is very common here to see the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession at the phrase level. In many languages of Africa one cannot say *brother* without specifying a possessor, and in a construction indicating inseparability, while non-kin and non-body-part nouns, if marked for possession, occur in constructions indicating separability. This volume shows that the alienable versus inalienable distinction is also common in Indo-European and Southeast Asian languages, as well as in many other language areas.

This study demonstrates the benefits of a typological-functional approach, analyzing the correlations between grammatical constructions and semantic and pragmatic relations in a cross-section of languages and summarizing the universal characteristics observed. The editors do not use the term FUNCTIONAL—perhaps because it is so obvious, or because the various authors are working from a variety of theoretical orientations, e.g. natural semantics, cognitive linguistics, systemic functional grammar, and cognitive discourse analysis. However, the editors do comment (10):

> ... on two important methodological attributes shared by the papers of this volume. First, each author develops language internal arguments for the analyses they propose, rather than assumes a universalist position. Second, each paper is concerned with adducing meaning differences associated with observed formal grammatical differences, and uncovering (if possible), motivations for these associations;

This volume began with papers from a workshop on 'Body parts in grammar' held during the Australian Linguistic Society Annual Conference in 1988. It was later expanded to include other articles on inalienability and the personal domain. Altogether there are seven papers from Australian Aboriginal Languages, two from the Pacific, three from Asia, two from North America, three from Europe and three from Africa. These together with a foundational article by Charles Bally and an excellent 'Prolegomena to a theory of inalienability' by Chappell and McGregor make this an excellent grammar of inalienability.

The authors and titles of the papers included in this volume are:

Chappell, Hilary and William McGregor, 'Prolegomena to a theory of inalienability'
Bally, Charles, 'The expression of concepts of the personal domain and indivisibility in Indo-european languages'
Evans, Nicholas, 'The syntax and semantics of body part incorporation in Mayali'
Harvey, Mark, 'Body parts in Warray'
Hosokawa, Komei, '"My face am burning!": quasi-passive, body parts, and related issues in Yawuru grammar and cultural concepts'
Leeding, Velma J., 'Body parts and possession in Anindilyakwa'
McGregor, William, 'The grammar of nominal prefixing in Nyulnyul'
McKay, Graham R., 'Body parts, possession marking and nominal classes in Ndjébbana'

Walsh, Michael, 'Body parts in Murrinh-Patha: Incorporation, grammar and metaphor'
Crowley, Terry, 'Inalienable possession in Paamese grammar'
Osumi, Midori, 'Body parts in Tinrin'
Chappell, Hilary, 'Inalienability and the personal domain in Mandarin Chinese discourse'
Clark, Marybeth, 'Where do you feel?—Stative verbs and body-part terms in Mainland Southeast Asia'
Tsunoda, Tasaku, 'The possession cline in Japanese and other languages'
Mithun, Marianne, 'Multiple reflections of inalienability in Mohawk'
Tompson, Chad, 'On the grammar of body parts in Koyukon Athabaskan'
Burridge, Kate, ' Degenerate cases of body parts in Middle Dutch'
Manoliu-Manea, Maria, 'Inalienability and topicality in Romanian: Pragma-semantics of syntax'
Neumann, Dorothea, 'The dative and the grammar of body parts in German'
Ameka, Felix, 'Body parts in Ewe grammar'
Bavin, Edith L., 'Body parts in Acholi: Alienable and inalienable distinctions and extended uses'
Hyman, Larry M., 'The syntax of body parts in Haya'
Chappell, Hilary and William McGregor, 'Bibliography on inalienability'

The Prolegomena gives a thorough treatment of the many facets of inalienability from theoretical and typological perspectives and summarizes the papers, each of which gives a full treatment of the ways in which inalienability is realized in the grammar of a particular language. There is also an extensive bibliography on inalienability, a subject index, language index, and author index.

POSSESSION is a grammatical category covering a variety of semantic categories, such as ownership, kinship, body part and other part-whole relationships, attributions, etc. We do not expect these to be consistently realized in the same manner in most languages; however, it is of particular interest to find that differences of realization are tied to cultural notions of inalienability and the 'personal domain'. For example, in French they say, *He broke TO ME the arm*. In English we say, *They hit HIM on the head*. On the other hand, we would not ordinarily say, *He struck the TABLE on the leg*, but rather *He struck the table leg*, or *... the leg of the table*. (That is, a person possessor is more likely to ASCEND to object position than an inanimate possessor.)

In various languages the personal domain may include body parts, kin terms, spatial relations, or objects closely associated with a person and his livelihood. Which categories are included is dependent upon each language and culture. Even closely-related languages often differ in what they treat as inalienable. Attempts to establish a universal hierarchy of inalienability appear to have been unsuccessful. In some languages certain categories must always be treated as inseparable while in others they may be treated as separable, or sometimes separable but at other times not, e.g. *the liver I am eating* versus *my own liver*. Medical jargon is notorious for elevating parts

above person. My wife still remembers from nurses' training, a head nurse asking about a lady in the hallway, 'Is that the varicose veins?'

A typical example of alienable possession in Africa is expressed by a possessive phrase in the order NOUN–POSSESSIVE MARKER–NOUN. The nouns may refer to possessor or possessed, depending on whether it is a head-first or head-last language, such as *hammer of John* or *John's hammer*. The closer relationship of inalienable possession is iconically reflected in a NOUN–NOUN construction without the intervening possessive marker, e.g. *John brother*. Inalienably possessed nouns are often syntactically bound, i.e. never occurring without a possessor.

Body part incorporation in the verb is found to be a common means of showing inseparability in languages of Australia, as well as in languages of America and Northeast Asia. Marybeth Clark makes a good case for syntactic incorporation in the Vietnamese verbal piece, although Vietnamese, being monosyllabic, lacks morphological evidence.

In Warray (Australia), Harvey describes the use of noun classes and a special kind of nominal compounding, as well as noun incorporation. In other languages prefixation is used. Osumi distinguishes several morphosyntactic strategies which can express a continuum of inalienable versus alienable relationships in Tinrin (Pacific). Juxtaposition of possessor and possessed is also common in Australian and Pacific languages as opposed to the addition of a possessive constituent for alienable possession.

Chappell's description of Mandarin's use of double subject is of special interest, as well as the subtleties of its use or non-use of the genitive marker *de*. Tsunoda demonstrates, contrary to statements that there is no inalienable possession in Japanese, that while honorific marking of the possessed is a means of showing respect to the possessor, its acceptability demonstrates a cline of inalienablility. It is rare to find respect marked on a loosely related possessed noun but progressively more common to find it marked on a more closely related possessed noun (the high end of the cline). He also supports the notion of a cline with examples from English and Australian languages in which, '...if the genitive (or dative) marking on the possessor is to be suspended at all, then it is more likely to be so at the high end of the cline'.

In English, suspension of genitive marking is primarily accomplished through possessor ascension. In Japanese a possessed body part precedes the possessor, marking a higher degree of inalienability. Interestingly, the English glosses show the use of *-ed* in such phrases, e.g. the *beardED man*, the *blue-eyED girl*. The suffix *-'s* is often used for inalienable possession but

the preposition *of* is only used for alienable possession. In several languages the use of particular verbs is shown to relate to the cline of inalienability.

Mithun shows that Mohawk uses other strategies as well as noun incorporation, but she also decides that what at first appeared to be a simple distinction of inalienability actually reflects identity and salience. On the other hand, Manoliu-Manea shows from Romanian that inalienability is governed not only by morphosyntactic and semantic patterns, but also by discourse and cognitive conditions such as topicality and centrality. He observes that (711):

> ... inalienable possession is not a simple reflection of a 'state of affairs' dealing with inseparable terms, but rather an expression of a certain interpretation of the world we talk about in which the part and the whole are presented as being linked by an intrinsic relation of solidarity rather than possession.

Space does not permit a discussion of all of the strategies described, such as the Indo-European dative constructions, reflexives and the definite article. Two areas which especially deserve more discussion are inalienability in discourse and the metaphorical uses of body parts, as in *he has an ear for music*. While inalienability was once viewed as peripheral, it is one of those subtle mixes of pragmatics, semantics and grammar which can have far-reaching implications. In translation it is important to know when a relationship is considered to be inalienable in the target culture and what constructions are more, or less, acceptable.

This volume is excellent in both content and production. Although the price may be formidable for some, at more than 900 pages it could be viewed as several volumes in one, and an SIL entity's linguistic library would do well to have it.

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Functionalism and grammar. By T. GIVÓN. 1995. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 503 pp., Cloth $89.00, paper $34.95.

Reviewed by DAVID WEBER
SIL—Peru Branch; Int'l Linguistics Consultant

Givón has again provided us another insightful, data-rich, provocative book. This one deals with the nature of linguistic structure as it relates to functionalism, typology, and diachrony, cognition, neurology, and language

evolution. He seeks to redress an imbalance of functional linguistics, namely its inattention to—indeed, even hostility to—structure.

A fundamental concern of functional linguistics is the non-arbitrary correlation between structure (form) and function (meaning). As Givón observes, this correlation is reasonable and noncircular only if there is an independently motivated conception of structure, i.e. GRAMMAR. This book convincingly demonstrates the need for grammar but does not give a comprehensive view of what grammar is needed.

Chapter 1 is an introduction stating the problem and laying out some basic premises.

Chapter 2 discusses markedness addressing the following questions (26):

> Why is the structural code called syntax (or 'grammar') the way it is? What is natural about it? How is it constrained by its communicative task environment, or by the socio-cultural, cognitive or biological contexts within which it has evolved?

To distinguish the marked from unmarked, Givón uses three main criteria (28): structural complexity, frequency distribution, and cognitive complexity. He explores markedness across a wide range of grammar: in discourse, in clauses, in noun phrases, in verbs.

Chapter 3 discusses typology showing that typology makes sense only when considering (1) the range of structures used across languages to implement a particular functional domain ('function-blind typology is unworkable', 71) and (2) diachronic change, that is, we need to understand how languages end up using a particular structure to implement a particular function. After all, languages don't just pop out of the blue—each has a history (169):

> Ultimately, typological diversity is produced by the diversity of diachronic paths through which language—any language—can grammaticalize the same functional domain.

Givón uses the functional domain of voice (a language's mechanisms for giving more or less grammatical prominence to an argument) to develop these themes.

Chapter 4 continues the themes of chapter 3 but in the challenging domain of modality. The goal is (112):

> ... to outline some coherent principles by which one can predict the range of grammatical environments in which a subjunctive mood is most likely to grammaticalize.

Chapter 5 comes directly to the issue of structure. In functionalist circles, no one has questioned the existence of the category SENTENCE, a tree representation's top-most node, nor LEXICAL ITEM, the trees terminal nodes. But what of intermediate nodes? Givón centers his discussion in this chapter on the category of verb phrase, i.e. on the VP node. Whereas in formal approaches its existence—for any language—is now fairly axiomatic (after lengthy debates), he makes a fresh assessment, considering some data that, to my knowledge, have not played a significant role in previous discussions—such as clause union and serial verb constructions.

Givón is very cautious: after considering various types of data he says (185) that such facts 'may be taken as clear motivation for a VP node under certain conditions, with some problems remaining'. By the end of the chapter he says (219),

> The facts surveyed above do not contravene the existence of a VP node. Rather, they demonstrate the great complexity of determining constituency on strict empirical grounds without the illicit invocation of pre-empirical assumption.

And finally (220),

> But complexity need not obviate the fact that grammatical categories do exist, that they are highly though never wholly discrete, and that both their existence and their discreteness have an unimpeachable cognitive motivation.

Chapter 6 continues the topic of structure—turning to grammatical relations. These, the clause's primary 'glue', are of interest because in the most prominent formal traditions they have been defined configurationally, i.e. relative to the structure. For example, the subject has been defined as the NP directly dominated by S, and the direct object as the sister to the verb (and governed by it). Such definitions run directly counter to the functionalist approach, in which a cluster of behaviors often associated with a category are identified (e.g. subjects are often found to trigger verb agreement) and then something is recognized as a member of that category if it has enough of these behaviors (i.e. sufficiently resembles the prototype). Givón concludes that configurational definitions of grammatical relations are 'woefully inadequate', and that the cluster-and-prototype approach more satisfactory.

So now various questions arise: What is the structure we need? How should it be determined? How do we strike a balance between—on the one hand—justifying the categories and structures we posit with a minimum of 'pre-empirical assumptions' while—on the other hand—availing ourselves of the rich set of expectations we learn as 'linguistics'.

On pages 284 and 285 Givón gives two possible structures for a Ute clause meaning *The woman told the man to fry the meat.* This morphological causative has the following morphemes (schematically): WOMAN/SUBJ MAN/OBJ MEAT/OBJ FRY-CAUS-ANT-3SAN. Since this undoubtedly came about by clause union, Givón gives a structure in which the MAN is the object of the causative and MEAT is the object of FRY. Then he says that this is 'too abstract', preferring the structure in which the two objects are related to a single, derived verb. This preference for the latter strikes me as driven by the assumption that a single word should be dominated by a single node, i.e. by the lexicalist hypothesis. I believe the former is preferable because—in terms of it—the rigid ordering of the objects is motivated by Baker's 'mirror principle' (1985). Whatever be the right answer in this case, the question remains: what is the nature of structure? ...how elaborate? ...how abstract?

Chapter 7 discusses two problems that arise in establishing a correlation between form and function. The first is that correlations may be asymmetric: A implies B but B does not imply A. Suppose that in an SVO language we note that, when the word order is OV, then the object is definite. We are then tempted to posit the correlation between OV word order and definiteness. This is incorrect if there are definite noun phrases in other contexts: OV implies definite, but definite does not imply OV. If we ignore this and treat the asymmetric correlation as a symmetric one, we will arrive at false conclusions.

The second problem raised is how to objectively define a function. In practice we generally note what seems to be a common function, constructing it as we consider a particular form or structure in various contexts. But this is circular. Unfortunately there is no easy way to escape this circularity. Escape requires balancing observed structures, discourse contexts, and cognitive operations.

Chapter 8 considers how we can reason from the artifacts of linguistic behavior (utterances, texts, etc.) to the nature of the mental processes that formed them—that is, to cognition. If we see coherence in a text, what can we infer about the coherent behavior of the mind that produced the text? Givón proposes (382) an interesting model of the 'grammar-cues mental operations' for maintaining referential coherence.

The author challenges us to move from the artifact-based approach—the concepts and theories that have grown out of the study of texts—to a cognition-based approach, to understanding texts by understanding the workings of the mind that produced them.

In Chapter 9 Givón argues that the brain, the mind, and language had to have developed together. His central thesis is (394):

> … that the supportive neurology specific to the processing of human language is an evolutionary outgrowth of the visual information system … that the human lexical code began its evolution as an iconic visual-gestural system.

Two types of language capacity are distinguished: (1) the 'peripheral sensory-motor coding system' which mediates stimulus (sights, sounds …) and the meaning of these, thus the capacity for lexicon; and (2) the 'grammar coding system' which has the capacity for abstraction as needed for recognizing hierarchic organization, forming categories, and establishing relationships between elements. Givón argues that the coding system developed early whereas the capacity for grammar has only developed rather recently. To some extent the argument rests on the assumption that, because ontology recapitulates phylogeny, a child's development is a map of our evolutionary past: since children develop the capacity to learn grammar considerably after they use words, the capacity for grammar must have evolved after the capacity to use lexical items.

Now for some final comments. Each chapter of this book is essentially an independent essay and could be read as such. This is a virtue. However, I would have appreciated a bit more help in understanding how each chapter relates to the whole. But that is a minor quibble.

Givón is the master of the linguistic sound bite; witness, for example, 'Communicative function is the driving force behind the emergence, via grammaticalization, of MOTIVATED form:meaning pairings.' (Someone ought to glean such jems from his books and publish *The sayings of Chairman Givón*!)

Much of this book deals with the nature of scientific inquiry. Again and again the author cautions us against reductionism, against trying to reduce the complexity of linguistic phenomena to a single, simple principle. He regards language as primarily biological, with the complexity that generally characterizes biological organisms, their behaviors, and the way they adapt to their environments (which are themselves complex). Unfortunately few linguists have his depth and breadth of knowledge: on the ship of linguistic inquiry, few can hang the canvas that Givón does.

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FROM THE LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENT

Appreciation for Richard Pittman

[Dr. Dick Pittman, longtime SIL member and an International Linguistics Consultant, passed away on 21 August 1998. Dr. Kenneth Pike kindly offered these words in appreciation for Dr. Pittman's life.]

Richard Pittman was deeply involved in early work of SIL in several countries—e.g. Papua New Guinea, Nepal, Philippines, and others. I am deeply grateful for his helping our folks in many early areas (but I leave discussion of that to our administrators, as I pass on to linguistic matters).

In the SIL bibliography of 1992, some 48 items of his are listed. They include (in the order in which they occur in the bibliography) work on many languages (from Latin-America, Asia, USA) including Aztec, Jarai (Malayo-Polynesian), Tagalog, Southeast Asia, English, Cree, Gurung (and others including Sherpa), Vietnamese, Tamil, Navajo, and Proto-Tamang-Gurung-Thakali.

The spread of his interest in linguistic problems is fascinating. Here are some I locate from the bibliography (compare their order there). There are many more of them than I am able to evaluate in any detail-but I list some of them here: honorifics, nuclear structures, texts and dictionaries, grammar, priority of statement sequence, descriptive linguistics applied, defining morphology and syntax, comparative and superlative, teaching English, phonemes (of Tetelcingo), class and construction markers, fused subject and object pronouns, eliciting paradigmatic data from text, prosodies, eliciting transformations, word-base prosodies, descriptions of voice-register theory, proper names, register in language planning, morphology-syntax as universal, register in language, Mesopotamian duodecimal and sexagesimal counting systems, dominance and recessiveness in grammatical structures, dialect geography in the Philippines.

Since I value very highly a holistic approach to linguistics, I appreciate the overlapping variety of his interests, rather than a concentration on one or two targets or modules. This seems to reflect, for me, the impact of our basic SIL approach—which has from the beginning led us to deal with a language in culture—where in order to live with people we had to understand (and take part in) their eating, living, and generalized talking. Pittman contributed to that—as this brief bibliographical summary implies.

But beyond the linguistics, Pittman was widely engaged in the details of administration and government relations. The combination made him a powerful person—one whose memory I strongly support.

—Kenneth L. Pike, SIL President Emeritus

Introducing a new series

Early this year, Austin Hale, Ivan Lowe and I spent many hours together discussing ways in which more of SIL's linguist-translators could profit from the experience of those people who have analyzed discourse in their language projects, held discourse workshops, or written papers or books on the topic. We decided we could serve you best by gathering and distributing discourse materials. Our strategy for doing that is 1) contact you to gather papers which describe the discourse analysis you have done and discover what books or papers have helped you in doing discourse analysis, and 2) begin a discourse series for the purpose of distributing the materials that we gather. The publication of the materials contributed to the series will take a variety of forms: submission to *Notes on Linguistics, Notes on Translation, SIL Electronic Working Papers (SILEWP), SIL Electronic Data Series (SILEDS), LinguaLinks Linguistic Bookshelf*, as well as e-mail documents and photocopying of hard copies or copying to a diskette. Please contact us if you are interested in contributing to the series described below or interested in being notified regarding what is available and in what form. (Austin Hale put together notes from the Hale-Hohulin-Lowe discussions, and wrote the following description of the series.)

—Lou Hohulin, International Linguistics Coordinator

Understanding Discourse

(for those who never thought they could)

Series Editors:
E. Lou Hohulin, Ivan Lowe, E. Austin Hale, Katy Barnwell

1. Characteristics of desired contributions

Corpus-oriented: Anybody can talk. Not everyone is a master at doing things with words—even in their mother tongue. Working on discourse from elicited fragments is often a waste of time. Drawing discourse conclusions from answers to questions such as 'Could you say ...?' is a high-risk approach to data. Even of the masters who do things very well indeed with words, not all will be able to evaluate what happens to a text

when it is manipulated for the sake of analysis. What we prefer is work that is based primarily upon spontaneously produced text. Many questions that most language helpers cannot answer in any helpful way can be approached fruitfully through the careful and systematic study of good text. We would like to major upon studies of this kind in this project.

Focused upon integration: A lot of good work in linguistics is done within the narrowly defined limits of some subdiscipline of linguistics. Some recent modular theories see this as a positive characteristic of their work. While such an approach certainly has advantages for certain purposes, a different approach for this project has been adopted. Our interest is not so much in the careful definition of linguistic subsystems as it is in seeing how a language functions in terms of larger patterns that constantly transgress these boundaries. The focus is upon functional patterns that are larger than just morphology, or syntax, or the lexicon or pragmatics. These larger patterns often make sense of the fragmentary systems that are found within the limits of what properly belongs to a given subdiscipline, and they often have direct relevance for work in translation. It is this focus upon the integration of larger wholes that we wish to highlight in naming the project 'Understanding Discourse ...'

Good discourse means effective communication. By working from the texts which capture instances of really effective communication, we are hoping to help the field linguist gain control of the patterns used by the masters of the target language when they communicate effectively. The secrets of good communication have many dimensions. We hope to tap into many of these, make them explicit, and point the way for our colleagues to do likewise.

Relevance to translation: One disciplinary boundary that is of special concern is the wall that has grown up over the years between language analysis addressed primarily to academically-inclined linguists, and language analysis done in support of translation. We would like to breach that wall, and facilitate the benefit that can flow in both directions across it.

In this project we are primarily interested in concrete description of effective communication by skilled native speakers of various translation target languages. This means that our business is to investigate thoroughly the communicative resources of such target languages. We are interested in the study of EFFECTIVE discourse by masters in their mother tongues. Such studies are aimed at helping translators (expatriates and mother tongue translators alike) find ways of identifying the real masters, understudying them with profit, and incorporating into their own work the patterns and skills that make for effective communication.

Tempting morsels: We conceive of the project not as a monolithic definitive treatise, but rather as a series of shorter pieces that say in essence, 'Look at this! Isn't it beautiful? Wouldn't it be good if some of this beauty were reflected in our translations? Here's how we found it and here are some suggestions for you if you want to look for something like it in the language you are investigating.'

We do want both the beauty and the effectiveness of these language systems to show, but we are not interested in putting them out just to have them admired. We want to create a response that prompts many readers to respond, 'Hey! I bet we have something like that,' and we want to make some understandable suggestions to help the motivated reader look for the neat, useful patterns in his or her target language.

2. Philosophy of the series

We invite you to the kitchen: In recent years talk of analytic procedures has been frowned upon in certain quarters. One is not invited into the kitchen very often. Our feeling, however, is that we are analysts by profession and our problem-solving activities should be worth talking about. We want not only to say what we found, we also want to say how it was found. We may often present the failed hypotheses that were tested along the way, and what it was that finally turned the lights on for us. Kenneth Pike has done some masterful articles in this genre. Though we may not equal him, we do find inspiration in his work.

Concrete data is the starting point: We feel compelled to start with clear data. (We do not feel compelled to preface each piece in this series with a statement of its relevance to any specific current theory, though when that is useful for the field linguist we would like to do so.) An effort will be made to limit our statements to things we can illustrate with concrete data—mostly drawn from natural text. The object is to end up with a series of useful language patterns—each of which has a recognizable surface form of one kind or another as well as a reasonably well understood function or meaning in discourse. This contrasts with other agendas which aim to end up with abstract characterization of human linguistic competence. (We don't deny the significance of this latter agenda, but that is not the aim in this project.)

We plan to 'milk' theories: What was just said may make it sound as if there is opposition to theory in some way. Dispel that notion as well. Theories are seen as various grids through which data can be viewed, and some theories give us a better chance to see certain kinds of useful patterns than others do. In general almost any theory gives a better chance to see things than you would have if you had no theory at all. (The ability to use

several theories as vantage points for viewing data is likewise far better than being locked into a single view.) Our approach to theory, then, is to milk it. We will try to acknowledge theories that have helped us see things and try to extract what is found helpful so that it can be used with benefit by those who would not otherwise use the theory. We see theories as good sources for analytic tools. The way the theoretical literature is written, extracting the tools from a theory can be difficult. We hope to do enough of it to help readers break into contemporary linguistics—at least in the role of bandits making off with some analytic goodies.

We plan to promote the 'scowl-chart-scowl' cycle: A certain amount of scowling (hypothesis formation) needs to precede any kind of charting or data manipulation (whether by pencil or by computer). Charts are good for testing certain kinds of hypotheses in certain kinds of languages. But without at least an initial hypothesis, the blind manipulation of data can be a colossal time-waster. One then charts only until one has the evidence needed either to refute or confirm the initial hypothesis. (One often needs far more data to confirm a hypothesis than to refute it.) Once the confirmation or refutation is in, the point of charting or other data manipulation has probably been served, and one returns to hypothesis formation for the next round of analysis, restating or reformulating a failed hypothesis, or extending the generalizations present in a successful one. Whatever is done to manipulate the data while searching for hypotheses, needs to be guided by a range of possible patterns that might show up as a result. We will try to model this approach. There is quite a bit to be said about data manipulation, but we will try in each case to make the hypotheses implicit in the chart or procedure quite explicit, and we will also try to make it clear how the tools are tailored to the hypotheses rather than the other way round.

Scowling precedes data processing, dictates the nature of data processing, and it says when data processing has served its purpose: Perhaps even more seductive is the assumption that the blind use of some of our (really excellent!) computer software tools will guarantee the discovery of insights into the patterns of the language. What holds for charting holds for any other kind of data processing. The crucial insights come as a result of the scowl-manipulate-scowl cycle, not by blind charting or data processing. A wrong analysis or blind manipulation with no hypothesis in view can produce a mass of material that is more of a hindrance than a help in coming to a clear understanding of what is really going on in the language. Data well organized in relation to a live hypothesis will support rather than impede analysis

If scowling comes first, however, and if the hypotheses generated dictate the strategy and goals of data processing, the software tools at our disposal can be a tremendous help in reducing the tedium of checking a large corpus, and in manipulating data well-understood at one level in ways that respond productively to hypotheses that arise from intensive scowling at another level. The software will NOT GENERATE your hypotheses for you. It CAN be a great help in testing your hypotheses, and in making your corpus accessible to further scowling.

Some of what we do will address the issue of the tricky cyclical relationship between scowling and data manipulation which makes for the best use of the time available.

Look at meaning through form but also look at form through meaning: Looking at a form and trying to discover what it means is a typical perspective for form-oriented analysis. Looking at meanings to discover which forms convey related meanings is a complementary perspective. In one case we may contrast well-formed forms with unacceptable ones. In the other case we may contrast two well-formed forms, one of which has the desired meaning and the other does not. We will have occasion to show how the interplay of these two perspectives can be useful in discovering the limits of certain patterns in a language. (Beekman in *Notes on Translation* 36 gave help for the lexicon from both perspectives. There are some helpful analogues for syntax and discourse as well.)

3. Available tools

Ways of asking questions of text: Software programs that manipulate text cover quite a spectrum, all the way from the Interactive Concordance, which requires only that the text be in a usable character set and have appropriate standard format markers, to the advanced implementations of Shoebox and LinguaLinks that allow extensive, detailed annotation that can be called upon in concording data in line with various abstract parameters not immediately accessible in the surface of the text. The key question in setting up text to answer questions is that of how to get the most for your annotation investment at any given stage of your analysis. This is another area which will be considered.

Survey of key tools: We intend to review key theoretical concepts that form a part of our working tool kit.

■

THE SEMANTICS OF RECONCILIATION IN THREE LANGUAGES

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1. Introduction.

This study compares the core vocabulary of three languages in domains related to *conflict* and *reconcile*. The first goal is to clearly describe the differences between concepts, i.e. meanings of lexemes[1] in a rigorous way, both within a language and among languages. Secondly, an attempt will be made to suggest a procedure for explaining why a lexicalized concept in one language is not lexicalized in another.

We will see, for example, that in the Alamblak culture and language the process of reconciliation focuses on removing the problem that causes a conflict between people. The common Alamblak expression indicating that reconciliation has been accomplished is translated as, 'The heaviness is no longer present.' Expressions indicating reconciliation in English and Greek foreground the people involved in a conflict, as for example, 'One person is reconciled to another person.'

The study will demonstrate a methodology for doing cross-linguistic comparative semantics research. The author's motivation for such an enterprise is to help field linguists construct precise semantic descriptions of vocabulary in undocumented languages and to encourage translators to make precise comparisons of similar meanings of words in the languages involved in their translation work.

2. Methodology

Definitions. In order to clearly describe the differences between the meanings of lexemes, their definitions need to be constructed in such a way that they can be compared precisely. To accomplish this a common language must be used for the definitions of terms in all of the languages being studied. The definitions which have been constructed in this study reflect the influence of the work of Anna Wierzbicka (1985; 1987; 1992; 1997) and Cliff Goddard (1994) in a framework known as the Natural

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[1] In this paper the term lexeme is used to refer to a lexical entry together with one of its senses. A lexeme may be morphologically complex such as in the case of an idiom.

Semantic Metalanguage (NSM). Wierzbicka has attempted to provide semanticists with not only a common language, but also a universal language with which to formulate definitions. If an analyst can successfully use this set of semantic primitives to write definitions, then they will be more likely to be formally comparable.

Wierzbicka formulates definitions with a natural language syntax, which helps to process complex definitions. Even with this advantage, however, complicated definitions can be obscure. In this study, therefore, definitions utilize both the semantic primitives of NSM plus a secondary level of approximately 200 English terms[2] to enhance the clarity of the definitions. Once a lexeme has been defined by the established vocabulary for definitions it becomes available to form part of the definition of other lexemes. It is assumed that the primitives are universal and therefore need no defining, and indeed cannot be defined themselves. A prose discussion will be used to clarify the points of comparison between concepts where formal definitions lack perspicuity.

Polysemy. When constructing a definition of a lexeme the analyst must distinguish between senses of meaning of the lexeme. As a general rule one should attempt to write one definition accounting for a term's full range of reference before deciding he is dealing with more than one meaning or more than one word. When it is not possible to account for the range of reference with one general definition, however, one must be careful to define one sense of meaning at a time (cf. Wierzbicka 1985 and 1992 for discussions of definitions and polysemy).

Semantic Domains. To understand what a lexeme means it needs to be contrasted with semantically similar lexemes. A semantic domain is loosely defined as a set of lexemes that are similar in that they share components of meaning by virtue of referring to similar situations (cf. Eugene Nida, J. Louw, and R. Smith. 1977). A semantic domain can include a range of lexemes from partial synonyms and pseudo-synonyms to antonyms. The notion of semantic domain is used in this study to collect the most relevant lexical items for comparison. By contrasting lexemes in sets, distinctive

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[2] The secondary level of vocabulary to be used in definitions comes from a list of function words and content words compiled in a manuscript by Joe Grimes with the addition of a few words taken from Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976:526-689). These are words which are used frequently to define more complex or more specific words but which themselves are more directly explicable in terms of the 60 primitive terms of NSM. The terms in this list are very tentative; the sense of each term used in definitions has not always been identified and some of those which have been specified have not yet been precisely defined.

semantic components can be defined for each lexeme in the study. A semantic domain of reconciliation for English includes lexemes such as *armistice, clear the air, conciliate, harmonize, patch up, make peace, placate, rapprochement, reconcile, restore, settle,* and *truce*.

Range of reference. Contrastive analysis will reveal the range of reference of a lexeme to a certain degree. To fill out that information, however, the investigator will have to probe further. For expressions such as *reconcile*, for example, one will want to discover what types of situations count as instances of reconciliation. Three methods for discovering a lexeme's range of reference are described briefly here.

Natural texts. The safest way to discover a lexeme's range of reference is to examine natural texts. Where available, a concordance showing the lexeme under investigation in its contexts in natural texts should be used.

Case studies. To supplement textual studies the investigator can ask native speakers to explain actual experiences they have had or experiences they have heard of which they would describe by the term under study. These are case studies which are more reliable than hypothetical situations made up by the investigator. After examining case studies for semantic components of a lexeme, the investigator must abstract from specific instances to formulate a general definition of the lexeme.

Hypothetical introspection. A native speaker may be able to make up hypothetical situations in which he would use the expression, but it is always true that the more we talk ABOUT language the more danger there is of introducing erroneous conclusions about natural language use. When working with a trained native speaker an outside investigator may be able to work from an actual case study to fill out his meaning map of the lexeme. This is done by removing, adding, or modifying aspects of the real situation and checking if the term could still be used to describe the situation as modified. Let the analyst beware, however. Hypothetical staging can pressure even a native speaker to use terms in an unnatural way. Coleman and Kay (1981) illustrate the procedure of modifying a basic situation to determine the components of meaning of a lexeme.

Schemas. In order to address the issue of 'missing concepts', this study will relate the lexemes under study to other lexemes of different domains that are systematically, logically related. Lexemes that are related logically may be said to form part of a SCHEMA. The notion of schema is based on the notion as used by Artificial Intelligence researchers and cognitive linguists. According to DeBeaugrande and Dressler (1981:90): 'Schemas are global patterns of events and states in ordered sequences linked by time and

proximity and causality.' The notion of schema as used here is slightly expanded to refer to a complex of situations that are related by cause, result, or other logical relations. A schema is defined by the cultural patterns of behavior and worldview, i.e. conventional beliefs and knowledge, of the speech community of the language in question. These complex situations involve 'customary expectancies', a notion used by Longacre (1976:150). An example of a schema for conflict resolution in English is presented in section 3.

Constructing a schema can aid in the description of semantic components—including presuppositions—of individual lexemes. By describing concepts in the context of larger cultural systems we will be better able to explain why languages have different sets of vocabulary.

Delimitation of reference. A comparative semantics study involves comparing similar concepts in different languages. Concepts are similar to each other in many different ways; the mental lexicon appears to form a complex network of relationships. The researcher, therefore, needs to delimit the types of situations that should be studied across languages.

The subject of investigation for this study is vocabulary in domains related to *conflict* and *reconcile*. The study will consider conflict between people whether or not they previously had a good relationship. The conflict we are presupposing here involves an offense that has occurred and excludes those situations wherein people avoid one another due to fear of harm, a dislike, or any reason other than a personal offense.

3. Conflict and Reconciliation in English

Schema for conflict resolution. As stated above, a schema is a pattern of related situations (cf. section 2). The schemas presented here do not indicate which events and states are obligatory, but they portray a commonly expected sequence of situations.

A schema for typical processes of conflict resolution involves events and states of affairs which refer to conflict, lead to some sort of resolution, and other situations which are entailed by any of these happenings. The typical processes of conflict resolution are included in the following schema:[3]

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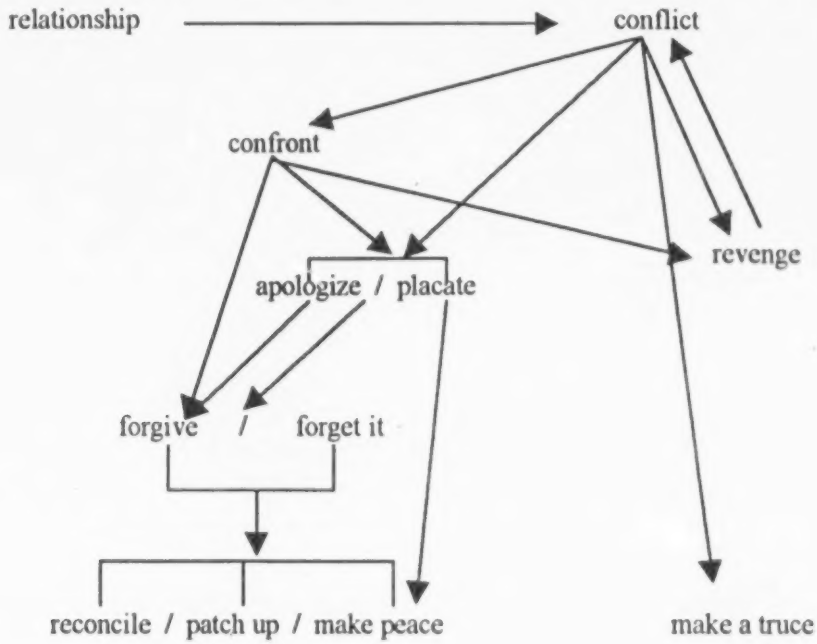
[3] This is a representative set of the more common English terms in this schema. Events referred to in the schema typically follow each other as indicated by the arrows between them.

Figure 1: Schema for conflict resolution



Working out the relationships within a schema can enhance the analysis and semantic description of individual lexemes. Some of the causing and resulting concepts may be entailed by, presupposed, or implied in the meanings of lexemes that refer to other situations in the schema. Other concepts in the schema are not necessary components of the meanings of other lexemes.

We will first contrast English lexemes in the domain of reconciliation. Then we will consider lexemes of other domains that are a part of the conflict-resolution schema.

Reconcile. The following is a formal definition for 'someone X and someone Y reconcile with each other'[4]:

> Someone X and someone Y had a good *relationship*[5];
> after that X and Y had *conflict* between them.

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[4] The lexeme to be defined is presented in a syntactic context. This type of expression helps identify the sense of the lexeme being defined. The semantic role system is indicated by identifying the nuclear participants with indefinite pronouns.

[5] Italicized words in definitions are not semantic primitives nor part of the secondary level of words by which lexemes should ideally be defined. These words have been defined elsewhere

> Someone (X or Y or someone else) does something good to cause X and Y to want to be with each other;
> because of that X and Y have a good *relationship*.

The concept *conflict* is presupposed by all other situations that are subsumed by it in the conflict-reconciliation schema. In the case of *reconcile* it is assumed that the two parties involved had also been in a good relationship before experiencing their conflict. These two situations, conflict and relationship, are part of the general schema and will be defined in later sections.

For reconciliation to take place one of the parties or a third party must want to restore the broken relationship and something must be done to remove the conflict which has broken the relationship. The definition specifies that something good is done to bring about reconciliation. Doing something good precludes a situation in which two parties in conflict are motivated to reconcile out of fear—as from a common danger or enemy. Such bad circumstances could cause people in conflict to cooperate, but would not in itself bring about a genuine desire to want to be together. The typical good actions to bring about reconciliation are not specified in the concept *reconcile*; therefore those situations in the schema are not properly included in its definition.

Patch up.[6] The following is a formal definition for 'someone X patches up a relationship with someone Y':

> Someone X and someone Y had a good *relationship*,
> after that X and Y had *conflict* between them.
> The bad feelings X and / or Y had were not very bad.
> X does something good[7] that causes the *conflict* between himself and Y to stop happening.

To remove the conflict, X does something designed to remove it, such as apologizing to Y or making a gesture of friendliness. The other party, Y,

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in the text by the primitives or the expanded set of vocabulary. This is important to do to insure comparability between definitions. When non-primitive words are used they must be defined either by primitives or by other words that have been defined by the primitives. Those words which are not a part of the domains under study are not listed in the main outline of the paper but are defined somewhere in the body of the text.

[6] *Patch up* is a poly-morphemic predicate, but a single lexical unit. It is a semantic unit because the two words in the expression form a near-frozen collocation, and it expresses a unitary meaning.

[7] Refer to the discussion of this component with reference to *reconcile*.

obviously responds in some way to enable the conflict to cease. Since the means is not specified in the lexeme *patch up* it is not included in the definition.

Like *reconcile, patch up* implies that there was a previous relationship between X and Y. Unlike *reconcile* this term is appropriate only to situations in which the breech of relationship is not too serious. If two people patch up their differences, those differences did not involve strong feelings. Some speakers may feel that *reconcile* is more appropriate to use in a formal, less personal situation in contrast to *patch up* which seems more informal.

There seems to be a shift of focus between *patch up* and *reconcile*. The former seems to focus on removing the conflict between parties whereas *reconcile* focuses on the resulting state between the parties involved. This subtlety is reflected in the definitions of the expressions.

Make peace. The following is a formal definition for 'someone X makes peace with someone Y':

> Someone X does something good that causes the *conflict* between himself and someone Y to stop happening.

The meaning of *make peace* is included in the meaning of *patch up* making it the more generic concept. In contrast to *reconcile, make peace* does not necessarily imply that the parties involved experienced a breakdown of a previous relationship. *Reconcile* refers to restoring a good relationship which had existed. *Make peace* only claims that the conflict between parties has ceased; nothing is implied about establishing a friendly relationship although the expression does not imply that friendliness could not result from the events described by *make peace*.

Make a truce. The following is a formal definition for 'make a truce between someone X and someone Y':

> Someone X and someone Y did bad things to each other.
> After doing those things X *communicates* to Y that X wants the *conflict* between them to stop.
> X and Y say that they will stop doing those things that cause *conflict*.
> X and Y want *conflict* between them to not happen for some time.

The concept *communicate* is an included component in this definition. It is a generic term that means

> someone X does something that causes someone Y to know a part of what X is thinking.

Truce implies a previous outward hostility or threats of imminent hostility. The precipitating circumstance involved in *reconcile, make peace* and *patch up* is a more general conflict, which could involve physical harm but need only involve a show of opposition.

The lexeme *truce* is most similar sematically to *armistice* and *cease-fire*. A truce can last for an indefinite period of time: longer with an armistice or shorter with a cease-fire. Like an armistice, truce is a reciprocal agreement, but not necessarily accomplished as formally. In contrast to both a truce and an armistice it is possible to initiate a unilateral cease fire. A surrender expects the cessation of hostilities but is a onesided act which implies one party has advantages over the other.

The lexemes *reconcile, make peace, patch up* and *truce* are semantically similar because of that they can be used to refer to similar situations. They are partially overlapping synonyms; they may substitute for each other in similar linguistic contexts like a substitution list in a paradigm. For these reasons these lexemes are members of the same semantic domain.

Other domains of conflict resolution. A basic principle of semantic analysis requires the analyst to contrast semantically similar terms. We have done that for reconciliation terms in English. In the discussion it was noted that other concepts were implied in the meanings of these *reconcile* terms, concepts that are outside the domain of reconcile but within the schema for the resolution of conflict. This observation leads to another principle:

> The semantic analysis of a lexeme must explain that lexeme's syntagmatic relationships with other lexemes.

The syntagmatic principle is a part of considering the broader context of the use of a lexeme. Relating a lexeme to other terms it collocates with will enable a fuller analysis of the meaning of the lexeme. Selectional restrictions of a lexeme are derived from its collocational restrictions. We will now proceed to define some of the lexemes that are typical of the conflict-resolution schema. Some of these terms must be defined in order to complete the semantic descriptions of the reconciliation terms because they are included in the meanings of some of those terms.

Relationship. The following is a formal definition for 'someone X has a relationship with someone Y':

> Someone X does things together with someone Y.

Doing things together is understood to include speaking and other activities. The definition of *reconcile* includes X and Y having a good relationship. A

good relationship is understood to refer to the situation in which X and Y have good feelings when they do things together. This term contrasts with lexemes like *connection* and *association* in that a relationship implies some personal interaction. A person can have an association with someone if they only know who each other are, but to have a relationship between people they must have some personal interaction.

There is another sense of *relationship* which is a near synonym of *association*. That sense of *relationship* can depend upon non-personal reasons or abstract notions for relating entities together. Animate or inanimate entities may be related in that way.

Conflict. The following is a formal definition for 'there is conflict between someone Y and someone X':

> Someone Y thinks that someone X did something wrong to or thought something wrong about Y;
> because of this Y does something which *communicates* that Y has bad feelings toward X
> because of that X and Y do not want to be with each other.

Doing something wrong involves doing something that people think that people should not do. It also includes failing to do something people are supposed to do.

Confront. The following is a formal definition for 'someone Y confronts someone X':

> Someone Y *communicates* to someone X that Y thinks that X did or may have done something wrong;
> If X did something wrong Y wants X to think that he did something wrong; Y thinks that X should think that X should not do wrong things.

Confronting seems to assume the guilt of someone more than the act of accusing, which seems to offer the offending party more of an opportunity to prove she or he did not do what she or he is accused of. The other difference between these two concepts seems to be that accusing anticipates a resulting punishment, whereas confronting does not necessarily anticipate any punishment.

Apologize. The following is a formal definition for 'someone X apologizes to someone Y':

> Someone X says something to someone Y in order for Y to think that
> X thinks that X did something wrong toward Y and X feels badly about that.

It is only appropriate for someone to apologize to the person who has been wronged. Confession, by contrast, may be made to anyone, and the confessor may or may not feel remorse about what she or he has done. Like confession, it is common for an apology to elicit an offer of forgiveness.

A feeling of remorse need not always accompany an apology. This definition, however, claims that in the prototypical case people expect remorse on the part of the person giving a sincere apology .

Placate. The following is a formal definition for 'someone X placates someone Y":

> Someone X did something bad to someone Y
> and because of that Y feels badly toward X;
> X wants Y to stop feeling badly toward X
> because of that X does something so that Y will stop feeling badly toward X.

Placate contrasts with *apologize* in that placating focuses on changing the feelings of the offended party. *Apology* focuses on the offending party communicating to the offended party that the former admits being wrong and regrets what was done.

Placating does not seem to lead to forgiveness but can elicit other responses from the offended party which can lead to reconciliation of some sort. An apology can elicit any positive response which can in turn lead to reconciliation.

Forgive. The following is a formal definition for 'someone Y forgives someone X':

> After someone X did something bad to someone Y,
> Y thinks that X knows that Y could think of X as a bad person and Y could feel something bad about X because of what X did.
> Y wants to do something good that causes the *conflict* between himself and X to not happen;
> Because of that Y *decides* that she or he does not want to think of X as a bad person,
> Y *decides* that she or he does not want to feel something bad about X because of what X did. Y *decides* to not cause X to feel bad about what she or he did.
> Y *communicates* his or her *decisions* to X.

For some speakers an act of forgiving requires a prior acknowledgment of culpability on the part of the offending party. The prototypical expression of that is an apology.

The concept *decide* is included in this definition. It requires defining since it is not a prime concept.

Decide includes:

> Someone thinking about something Z for some time and then thinking that from now on he will think about Z in a certain way. His thinking may be in terms of what he believes about something, or what he intends to do or not do.

Forgiveness is related to the purpose of removing conflict between parties. The conflict may be expressed on a personal level or on an impersonal level. In the latter case a civil or religious representative may act on behalf of a group of citizens. Lexemes which are restricted to the latter situation include *absolution*, *pardon*, *reprieve*, and *amnesty*. Forgiveness contrasts subtly with *excuse* where the offending party is not thought of as a bad person deserving of punishment.

A second sense of forgiveness is used less commonly to refer to a situation in which an offended person is not concerned about removing the conflict. The goal of the offended party is to find relief from the painful emotions related to the offense, and to guard himself against hurtful emotional reactions such as resentment and bitterness. To accomplish that she or he decides to forego seeking revenge and decides to not nourish bad feelings toward Y. This decision is not communicated, and it may not be possible to communicate the decision if the offender cannot be contacted.

Forget it. The following is a formal definition for 'someone Y says *forget it* to someone X who feels bad about something she or he did':

> After someone X did something bad to someone Y,
> Y does not think of X as a bad person; Y does not want to feel something bad about X because of what X did.
> Y wants X to know that Y wants the *conflict* between himself and X to stop happening;
> Y says to X to not think that Y thinks of X as a bad person or that Y feels something bad about X because of what X did.
> Y says to X that Y does not want to think about or talk about the bad thing that X did and Y does not want X to talk about it.

There are several close synonyms and variant forms of this expression. The expression may be preceded by *just* as in *just forget it*. *Never mind* and *don't worry about it* can be used in a similar way. (*Just*) *drop it* and (*just*) *let it go* may communicate a little more transparently that the offended party feels a little badly about what the offending party did. More testing in natural contexts needs to be done to verify this hypothesis.

The differences between saying *forget it* and saying *I forgive you* should be evident by comparing their definitions. To forgive someone is to restore a relationship by acknowledging their wrong and to absolve them from it. Saying *forget it* in similar circumstances is to restore a relationship by dismissing the wrong done and not talking about it further. *Forgive* is most appropriate for circumstances in which what X did could warrant Y thinking of X as a bad person and Y feeling something bad about X because of what X did; that is indicated in the definition of *forgive*. *Forget it* may be said in the same circumstance but it is equally appropriate for circumstances in which X's offense does not warrant such bad evaluation and bad feelings on the part of the offended person. Whether Y's having bad feelings could be warranted or not is not specified; the expression simply says that Y does not think of X as a bad person. The offended party may also use the expression *Forget it* in cases where the offended party does feel bad toward the offending party, and the offended party is more concerned with avoiding confrontation than she or he is with removing the conflict or restoring their relationship. The use of the term, nevertheless, claims that the offended party does desire to restore the relationship.

Revenge. The following is a formal definition for 'someone Y takes revenge on someone X':

> After someone X *intentionally* did something bad to someone Y,
> and Y felt bad because of that,
> Y does something bad to X so that X will feel bad, or so that X will feel badly that he did something wrong to Y.

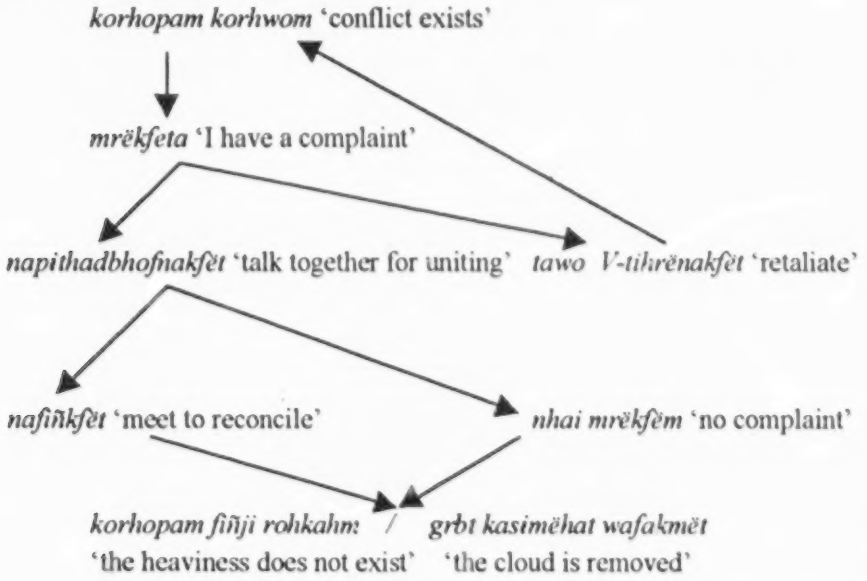
Intentionally is a form of INTEND. It can be specified as: Someone decides to do something Z and she or he does Z. This term is included here in the outline even though it is not part of the conflict-resolution schema. It is part of a conflict-revenge schema which overlaps with the conflict-resolution schema. It is included in the discussion because it contrasts with the concept *forgive*.

Revenge is a response to wrongdoing which does not seek reconciliation, even though it may quell conflict in one of the parties involved. The focus of revenge is to satisfy a sense of justice by seeking to punish the offender. This component of the meaning of *revenge* is the opposite of that of *forgive*. To demand retribution contrasts with revenge in that it need only focus on the goal of justice, with or without the component of wanting the offender to suffer for his wrongdoing.

4. Conflict and reconciliation in Alamblak[8]

Schema for dealing with conflict in Alamblak. The schema for dealing with conflict in an Alamblak society includes the precipitating conflict, talking together, and a public ceremony or dismissal of the complaint. Whereas the event of revenge was factored out of the conflict-resolution schema for English, retaliation is included in the Alamblak schema. Retaliation seems to be much more of an integrated option in dealing with conflict in Alamblak, as in other Melanesian societies.

Figure 2: Schema for dealing with conflict



***Napithadbhofnakfèt* 'talk together for uniting'.** The morphemes of this word are analyzed as:

Na-	*pitha*	*-dbhof*	*-na*	*-kfèt*
RECIPROCAL-	speak	-join	-do	-INFINITIVE

The following is a formal definition for 'someone X and someone Y *napithadbhofnakfèt*':

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[8] Alamblak is a language of the Sepik Hill language group which is a part of the Sepik-Ramu language family located in Papua New Guinea. The Alamblak data for this study was collected by the author in October of 1995 in the village of Simbut.

Someone X did something wrong to someone Y;
People would think it was bad but not very bad.
After Y felt badly toward X and did not want to be with X,
X and Y want to not have bad feelings between them and want to be with each other.
Because of that X and Y tell each other what they think happened and what they think and feel about the cause of the bad feelings between them.

This expression is used to refer to occasions of estranged parties coming together to talk about what happened to cause their estrangement. This will happen in cases of personal injury or damage to someone's property. More serious offenses like adultery or murder cannot be dealt with in this way.

This term expresses a reciprocal event 'talking together', as seen by the use of the reciprocal prefix; so both parties cooperate in this process. It is common for a mediator to initiate the event but that is an optional feature of the concept, and therefore is not included in the definition.

In order to stop having feelings of conflict between them, they will have to follow up with a reconciliation ceremony.

***Nafiñkfët* 'meet to reconcile'.** The morphemes of this word are:

na-	*fiñ*	*-kfët*
RECIPROCAL-	gather	-INFINITIVE

The following is a formal definition for 'someone X and someone Y *nafiñkfët*':

Someone Y thought that someone X did something bad to or thought something bad about Y;
because of this Y did something that *communicates* that Y had bad feelings toward X.
Y and X, wanting to not have bad feelings between them and wanting to be with each other,
come together, and *give* things to each other, things that people want to have.
Because of doing that, people know that Y and X do not want to feel something bad toward one another, and do not want to cause each other to feel bad, and want to be together.

The complex concept *give* can be defined in primitive terms something like:

Someone X has something Z and wants someone Y to have it.
X does something with Z and because of that Y now or soon will have Z.

Items which are appropriate in a reconciliation exchange include betel nut, food, and tobacco. These facts are cultural knowledge and not specified in the meaning of the term *nafiñkfët*.

Nafiñkfët 'meet to reconcile', like *Napithadbhofnakfët* 'talk together for uniting', involves the motivation to remove bad feelings and to stop avoiding one another. This expression does not mean the two parties are reconciled per se, but it refers to the complex ceremony which signals reconciliation. This is expressed in the definition by the component 'because of doing that people know that X and Y do not want to feel something bad toward one another.' It does not refer to the heart of people's emotions, for example, stating that there are no bad feelings any longer. The feelings may still linger but this ceremony marks a commitment by the parties involved to put the issue behind them. After this ceremony the complaints are not to be raised again. This results in the removal of the tension between the people involved. The removal of animosity is expressed in the phrases: *nhai mrëkfëm*, *korhopam fiñji rohkahm*, and *grbt kasimëhat wafakmët*. These terms are described below.

Alternative expressions for *Nafiñkfët* 'meet to reconcile' include *Narhofiñkfët* 'sit gathering together', and *yefiñkfët* 'eat gathering together'.

***Nhai mrëkfëm* 'no complaint'.** The morphemes in this phrase are:

nhai	*mrë*	*kfëm*
no	say	NOMINALIZER

The following is a formal definition for 'someone Y says to someone X *Nhai mrëkfëm*':

> After someone X did something bad to someone Y,
> Y does not think of X as a bad person; Y does not want to feel something bad about X because of what X did.
> Y does not want to tell X that X did anything wrong,
> Y does not want to do this because she or he either thinks X did not do anything very bad or Y does not want to make X say that she or he did something wrong.
> Y says to X that Y does not want to think about or talk about the bad thing that X did and Y does not want X to talk about it.

Many of the components of this expression are the same as the components of the English expression *forget it*. It is possible that this Alamblak expression, like the English one, is also used to communicate to an offending party that she or he should not think that Y thinks of X as a bad person or

that Y feels something bad about X because of what X did. The hypothesis needs further checking to verify this.

***Korhopam fiñji rohkahm* 'the heaviness does not exist' and *Grbt kasimëhat wafakmët* 'the cloud is removed'.** The morphemes of the first expression are:

korho	*-pam*	*fiñji*	*roh*	*-kah*	*-m*
heavy	-THINGS	not	be.seated	-NEG	3PL

The following is a formal definition for '*korhopam fiñji rohkahm* between someone Y and someone X':

Y does not have bad feelings toward X.

The literal translation of the idiom is: 'Heaviness does not exist'. It can be used to refer to situations in which there had been a previous conflict or to deny that there are bad feelings without presupposing a previous conflict. It is true that pragmatically someone must think there was cause for bad feelings if the speaker finds it necessary to assert in this way that there are no bad feelings; the use of this expression can deny the presupposition of a previous conflict.

The morphemes of the second expression are:

grbt	*kasi*	*-më*	*-hat*	*wa-*	*fak*	*-më*	*-t*
cloud	cover	-RPAST	-SSUBJ	down-	get	-RPAST	-3SFEM

The following is a formal definition for '*grbt kasimëhat wafakmët* between someone Y and someone X':

X and Y had *conflict* between them;
Now X and Y do not have bad feelings toward each other.

The literal translation of the idiom is: 'The cloud after it covered it dissipated.'

The figurative sense of the expression *grbt kasimëhat wafakmët* 'the cloud is removed' presupposes a previous conflict between the parties. This is also the case with the expression *make peace* in English. The English and the Alamblak expression differ as to their perspective in reporting on the situation, however. *Make peace* is viewing the situation from the perspective of the people who remove a conflict. The Alamblak expression focuses on the conflict between people that disappears.

Tawo V-tihrënakfët[9] **'retaliate'.** The morphemes of this phrase are:

Tawo	*V*	*-tihrë*	*-na*	*-kfët*
likewise	(Verb root)	-retaliate	-do	-INFINITIVE

The following is a formal definition for 'someone Y *tawo V-tihrënakfët* to someone X':

> After someone X did something bad to someone Y,
> and Y felt bad because of that,
> Y does something bad to X so that X will feel bad, or so that X will feel badly that he did something bad to Y.

This expression co-occurs with a verb stem (V) that identifies what someone Y, referred to in the definition, does, e.g., *hit*, *steal*, etc. The term is nearly equivalent to the English *revenge* without imputed intentionality to participant X. This is only a tentative conclusion, however, since evidence from other languages and cultures in the New Guinea region suggest a contrasting component. That component has to do with the perspective on life that often utilizes the notion of balance. In these cultures the intended result of revenge is to balance out the relationship between antagonists. If balance is indeed thought to be the intent of people whose actions are referred to by this expression, then the intent to bring about a sense of balance should be reflected in the definition. An alternative definition follows:

> Because someone X did something bad to someone Y,
> and because Y feels bad because of that,
> Y does something bad to X so that X will feel bad in order to *balance* the bad that Y felt.

A by-product of this action could be a cessation of hostilities between two parties if both agree that the wrongs done even things up between them. This is one way for an offended person to alleviate his bad feelings about a wrong done to him. Reconciliation does not occur between the parties, however.

5. The semantics of reconciliation in Koine Greek

Koine Greek is an ancient dialect of Greek, not a living, contemporary language. Because of that the scholar of Koine Greek cannot be too sure that his analysis of the language fully captures the noncentral features of meaning

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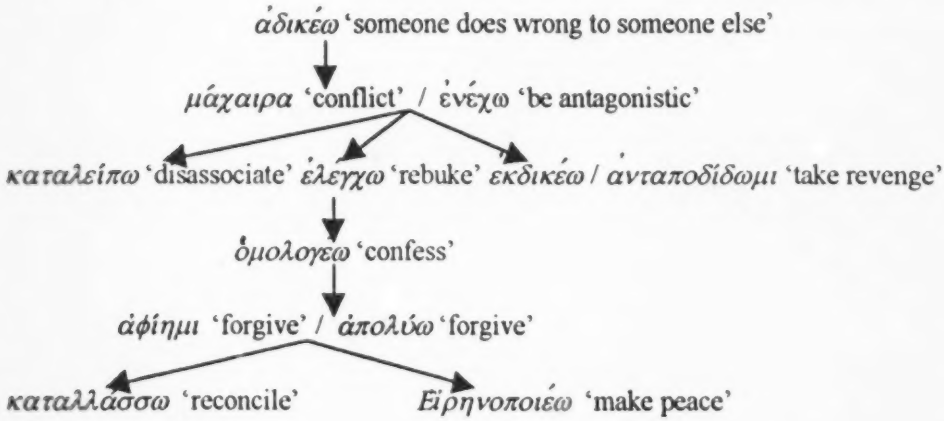
[9] This complex lexeme comprises a free morpheme and a bound morpheme. The bound morpheme attaches to a verb stem represented by V.

of the lexemes of the language. We will use the work of linguistically oriented Greek scholars to elaborate the semantic descriptions of Greek lexemes.

Schema for conflict resolution. The associated circumstances of these concepts in the ancient Greek culture are not possible to reconstruct as they arefor a living language and culture such as an English-speaking society. The Greek lexical system is similar to that of modern English, however, which indicates the possibility that the schema in ancient Greek society was similar to modern English. The most striking similarities between the lexicons of ancient Greek and English in contrast to Alamblak are the comparable terms for *confront* (*ἐλέγχω*), and *forgive* (*ἀφίημι*). The concepts expressed by these terms are not a part of the Alamblak lexicon.

The following is a proposal for a schema for the Hellenistic Greek society:

Figure 3: Schema for conflict resolution


ἀδικέω 'someone does wrong to someone else'
μάχαιρα 'conflict' / ἐνέχω 'be antagonistic'
καταλείπω 'disassociate' ἐλεγχω 'rebuke' εκδικέω / ἀνταποδίδωμι 'take revenge'
ὁμολογεω 'confess'
ἀφίημι 'forgive' / ἀπολύω 'forgive'
καταλλάσσω 'reconcile'
Εἰρηνοποιέω 'make peace'

***καταλλάσσω* 'reconcile'.** Barnwell, et. al. (1995) define this term as 'to exchange enmity with someone for friendship, to reconcile'. Louw and Nida (1988:502) define it as 'Re-establish proper friendly interpersonal relations after these have been disrupted or broken'. Bauer (1979:414) defines this term simply as 'reconcile'.

The first definition includes the concept of friendship as the resulting state of the event. The second definition downgrades that somewhat to a friendly relationship resulting from the event. Louw and Nida's definition explicitly presupposes a previous congenial relationship which is reestablished by this event.

If we accept Louw and Nida's definition the formal definition of *καταλλάσσω* would be:

> Someone X and someone Y had a good *relationship*;
> after that someone Y thought that someone X did something wrong to or thought something wrong about Y;
> because of this Y did something in order that X will know that Y does not want X to do something wrong or to think something wrong toward Y.
> Someone does something good to cause X and Y to want to be with each other;
> because of that X and Y have a good *relationship*.

The definition is similar to that of the English concept *reconcile*.

The perspective of the Greek and English expressions focusing on the estranged parties is the same in contrast to the Alamblak which focuses on the conflict between them.

As well as *καταλλασσω*, the noun *καταλλαγή*, and three related verbs *αποκαταλλασσω*, *διαλλασσομαι* and *συναλλασσω* are in this domain. The meanings of these terms cannot be differentiated.

***Εἰρηνοποιέω* 'make peace'.** Louw and Nida (1988:502) define this term as:

> To cause a state of peace or reconciliation between persons.

The formal definition is:

> Someone Y thought that someone X did something wrong to or thought something wrong about Y;
> because of this Y did something in order that X will know that Y does not want X to do something wrong or to think something wrong toward Y.
> Someone does something good that causes Y to stop doing that.

Close English equivalents are *make peace* or *make things right*. The concept expressed by the term *μάχαιρα* 'conflict' is presupposed in this concept. The focus seems to be on the state resulting from reconciliation rather than on the process.

***μάχαιρα*.** 'conflict'. Louw and Nida (1988:496) define the figuratively extended meaning of this lexeme as 'a state of discord and strife.' They also interpret it with a militaristic image of 'war, fighting, conflict' (1988:549). The central (underlying) meaning of the term is 'sword'.

The following is an approximate formal definition for 'there is *μάχαιρα* between someone X and someone Y':

> Someone Y thinks that someone X did something wrong to or thought something wrong about Y;
> because of this Y does something in order that X will know that Y does not want X to do or think what X did;
> because of that X and Y do not want to be with each other.

This representation of the meaning of *μάχαιρα* 'conflict' closely resembles the meaning of the English concept *conflict*. The definition here substitutes 'not wanting X to do or think what X did wrong' for 'Y has bad feelings toward X' in the definition of the English *conflict*. It is assumed here that the Greek term retains the militaristic connotation which does not focus on the emotions of the parties of the conflict. The someone Y, with or without feeling badly about what someone X has done or thought, is opposing what X did. X in some way opposes Y also, which is captured by the characterization that X and Y do not want to be with each other.

***ἀφίημι* and *ἀπολύω* 'forgive'.** According to our schema, discord between parties in a Hellenistic society typically resulted either in estrangement, taking revenge, or taking steps to resolve the conflict by rebuking the offender, which hopefully followed through to the offended party forgiving the offender.

The two Greek lexemes *ἀφίημι* and *ἀπολύω* are near synonyms. Their primary meanings have to do with someone dismissing someone else and someone leaving someone or something. A secondary meaning for both lexemes parallels *forgive* in English. The formal definition of this sense for both Greek terms is:

> After someone X did something bad to someone Y,
> Y thinks that X knows that Y could do something bad to X because X did something bad to Y, and that would be right if Y did.
> Y thinks that X knows that Y could think of X as a bad person and Y could feel something bad about X because of what X did.
> Y wants to do something good that causes the *conflict* between himself and X to not happen;
> Because of that Y decides that Y does not want to do anything bad to X because of what X did to Y;
> Y decides that Y does not want to think of X as a bad person.
> Y *communicates* his or her *decisions* to X.

This definition is quite similar to the meaning of the equivalent English term defined in section 3. The differences in the definitions implies that the Greek concept had a more judicial perspective than the modern American English concept has. That perspective of the Greek term is conveyed in the definition by the components which suggests that justice is in consideration: 'Y thinks that X knows that Y could do something bad to X because X did something bad to Y, and that would be right if Y did' and 'Y decides that Y does not want to do anything bad to X because of what X did to Y'. Without access to native speakers of this ancient language makes it difficult if not impossible to confirm the validity of that specific aspect of the meaning.

As for English *forgive*, the prototypical motivation inherent in the Greek lexemes *ἀφίημι*, and *ἀπολύω* is to resolve the conflict between two parties. If a person was not inclined to release an offender from his or her wrong, the alternative was to seek justice for the wrong done.

Ἐκδικέω **'take revenge'.** Louw and Nida (1988:502) define one of the three senses of this term as 'To repay with harm, on the assumption that the initial harm was unjustified and that retribution is therefore called for'.

The formal definition is:

> After someone X *intentionally* did something bad to someone Y,
> and Y felt bad because of that,
> Y does something bad to X so that X will feel bad, or so that X will feel badly that he did something wrong to Y.

This term is a close, if not exact, equivalent of the English *take revenge*. It is uncertain whether or not a concept of balance is included in the meaning here as is the case with the Alamblak *tawo V -tihrënakfët* 'retaliate'.

The noun *ἐκδίκησις* has the same core meaning as the verb.

Ἀνταποδίδωμι **'take revenge'.** Louw and Nida (1988:492) define one of the two senses of this term as 'To cause someone to suffer in turn because of actions which merit such retribution'. In spite of the different wording in the definitions of *ἐκδικέω* and *ανταποδίδωμι*, the meanings are indistinguishable.

6. Discussion

The Alamblak vocabulary described in section 4 presents two ways to deal with conflict. One response is to alleviate one's own feelings by getting

revenge, represented by *Tawo V -tihrënakfèt*. The other response is to seek reconciliation through discussion, *Napithadbhofnakfèt*, followed by meeting together to ceremonially express good will, *Nafiñkfèt*.

The Alamblak vocabulary focuses on removing the problem between people—only implying that the relationship is now good. The English and Greek vocabulary focuses on the people by the expressions *reconcile, patch up*, or Greek *καταλλάσσω* occurring with one or both parties as the subject of the clause.

There appears to be no Alamblak vocabulary which focuses specifically on the parties. The closest equivalent to English *reconcile* or Greek *καταλλάσσω* is *Nafiñkfèt*, which refers to the parties in an activity that signals reconciliation. The result of the activity is expressed by a statement about the trouble between them being removed—not another lexeme expressing that the parties have been reconciled.

The formal definitions of the Alamblak, English and Greek terms *Nafiñkfèt, reconcile*, and *καταλλάσσω* share one component of meaning. That is that the parties involved 'want to be with each other'. The terms differ in other details. English *reconcile* and probably Greek *καταλλάσσω* assume that the parties had a previous congenial relationship which had broken down. The Alamblak expression seems to be broader, applying to any situation where there is conflict whether the parties had been in a good working relationship previously or not. The English and Greek expressions indicate that anyone can cause the reconciliation—be it one of the parties involved or a third, uninvolved party. The Alamblak expression refers to a specific ceremony of meeting together and exchanging tokens of reconciliation. It is a reciprocal event indicated by the reciprocal prefix on the verb.

Modes for achieving reconciliation. We will now consider the cultural modes for achieving reconciliation in our three cultures. The English and Greek vocabulary suggests several steps in the process. Initially the offended party has the option of CONFRONTING his offender. In Greek the notion of confrontation is approximated by *ἐλέγχω* 'rebuke'. Alternatively, the offender may apologize to the offended party or ask for forgiveness. The Greek parallels in this step are *ὁμολογέω* 'confess' and asking forgiveness.

Alamblak society expects communication between estranged parties also, but the communication is manifested differently than in English and Greek societies. One party does not usually approach the other directly; a third party commonly brings them together for discussion. Once together the

posturing of the parties involved in Alamblak society is different also. Alamblak *Napithadbhofnakfèt* refers to a reciprocal conversation. The parties talk over the problem together. Accusations and counter charges may be involved but the whole event is presented as a balanced interchange—not taking the perspective of either one over the other.

After talking together, what typically happens next is very different in an Alamblak society versus an English or Greek society. The difference is reflected in different sets of vocabulary. In an Alamblak society the parties will have a ceremony to express good will and to remove the conflict between them (*Nafiñkfèt*). In an English or Greek society there are steps involving some form of confession or acceptance of the apology followed by an expression of forgiveness. In an English society, at least, the confession or the apology stage or both may be bypassed if one party offers to just forget the whole thing. A willingness to forget functions as forgiveness does, viz., to agree to put bad feelings aside without requiring restitution so that the relationship can be normalized. Notions of confession and forgiveness are not a part of the Alamblak conceptual system and cultural patterns of behavior.

Why does the Alamblak society lack the practices of admitting guilt, confession and forgiveness? The Alamblak society is a Low Grid society as characterized by Mary Douglas' (1982) parameters of social order. Lingenfelter (1996) describes a Low Grid society as one with broad social roles having relatively few well-defined rules constraining social interaction. This type of society is not a rule-by-law society but one governed more by the power and influence of the group or group leader. It is not surprising, therefore, that admission of guilt, confession, and forgiveness are not salient behaviors in Alamblak society. There are few well defined rules or laws; the issue is not 'what you did was wrong and needs to be addressed' but 'there is conflict between us and it has to be removed'.

In addition to Douglas' broad picture of society we might characterize the style of interpersonal relationships in a given society according to the parameter of degree of confrontation.

Table 1: Confrontational Scale

	Indirect	Direct
value:	Respect, save face	Truth, right and wrong

On the indirect end of the scale respect is highly valued and that value is expressed by deflecting blame from the individual. On the direct end of the

scale truth and ethics are highly valued and those values are expressed by focusing on truth and ethics—risking close relationships if necessary. These are not necessarily the only values associated with the direct and indirect approach to confrontation.

The typical Alamblak person is oriented to the indirect approach in which saving face is preferred—to a moderate degree at least. From this perspective also it is not surprising that the lexicon of Alamblak reflects a focus on the problem between antagonists rather than focusing on which one of the antagonists wronged the other.

Alamblak society is group oriented although there is room for individual initiative. Equality or balance between individuals is an expression of the egalitarian nature of Alamblak society. In the case of conflict between individuals—if balance cannot be maintained by congenial exchange of tokens of value—the alternative is payback or reciprocity.

Given this situation the translation of the concepts *confess* and *forgive* from English or Greek into Alamblak is a significant challenge. They must be expressed as noncultural notions. As such a translator must investigate all implications associated with someone offering forgiveness as seen from the perspective of the Alamblak system.

7. Conclusion

This study has compared vocabulary for three languages in semantic domains related to *reconcile*. Lexemes were defined using an expanded set of vocabulary based on the semantic primitives developed by Anna Wierzbicka in the framework of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage. The latest set of primitives, 60 in all, appears in Wierzbicka (1997). The definitions were made rigorous in order to enhance the comparisons between languages. Where lexemes overlapped in meaning, the common components in their definitions were expressed in the same way.

The study of vocabulary in domains helps to discover culturally important semantic parameters. For the Alamblak, removing the problem between people is focal; the relationship between people is addressed only in a backgrounded way. The parties take equal roles in a reciprocating way. A mediator is a common role for reconciliation in Alamblak culture. The English and Greek vocabulary focuses on the people needing reconciliation, the right and wrong of what was done, and a restored relationship.

A cursory look at the cultural contexts explains the dynamic roles and perspectives of the participants reflected in the vocabulary that each

language employs. English and Greek show a similar array of vocabulary. Alamblak, a language of Papua New Guinea, has a very different set of vocabulary with which to work. The Alamblak cultural values of balance in relationships and protecting individuals from public shame explains why there is no concept equivalent to the English *forgive*.

Hopefully the results of the study have been positive enough to warrant extending the research to more semantic domains studying a wide variety of languages.[10]

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[10] Comments and expressions of interest in contributing to a broader study of vocabulary are welcome. The author intends to continue researching in the domains of *reconciliation, love, sentimentality, pity/mercy*.

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Dissertation Abstracts

Proto–Bungku-Tolaki: Reconstruction of its phonology and aspects of its morphosyntax

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PhD 1998, Rice University

The Bungku-Tolaki group of languages (Austronesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian) comprises fifteen languages spoken in and around the southeastern peninsula of Sulawesi Island in present-day Indonesia. Although there exist no written records for these languages prior to 1900, I apply the traditional methods of historical and comparative linguistics, as well as bring to bear more recent understandings regarding the nature of grammatical and semantic change in order to develop a picture of their common ancestor language, Proto–Bungku-Tolaki.

The dissertation has two parts. In part one, I reconstruct the sound system of Proto–Bungku-Tolaki, detailing both the innovations which distinguish it from its nearest identified ancestor, Proto–Malayo-Polynesian, and the phonological changes which occurred in the various daughter languages. In the second part I focus on issues of transitivity including the grammaticalization of the preposition **aken* as a valence-changing applicative suffix, clause structure including relative clauses, and verbal inflection. Herein, Proto–Bungku-Tolaki is reconstructed as having three construction types which allowed the expression of both an agent and a patient, namely the active, the passive, and the antipassive. Nominative and absolutive pronoun sets served as agreement markers, though the genitive subject marking original to subordinate temporal adverbial clauses has in some languages also made its way into main clauses.

Because there is not as yet a significant body of published material on the Bungku-Tolaki languages, I have made an effort to amply supply this dissertation with the primary data upon which my analyses have been based. Therefore although the present work is of particular relevance to Austronesianists working in the field of historical reconstruction, the data and descriptions alone should make this an invaluable reference for anyone interested in the languages of this small corner of the world. Appendices include five texts with interlinear glossing and free translation, and a compilation of Proto-Bungku-Tolaki lexical reconstructions with supporting evidence.

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The Kham Language of West-Central Nepal (Takale Dialect)

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Kham is a cluster of closely related Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in West-Central Nepal by some 40 or 50 thousand people belonging to the four northern clans of the Magar tribe. This dissertation focuses primarily on the Takale dialect, the prestige dialect of Parbate Kham and lingua franca for the Kham speaking region in general. Unclassified by any of the major classifications before 1987, Kham lends cohesiveness to the loose group of languages sometimes referred to as 'West-Central Himalayish' and binds it to the 'East Himalayish' or 'Kirantish' unit of the Bodic division.

This is the first comprehensive treatment of Kham and deals with all major aspects of the language, including segmental phonology, tone, word classes, noun phrases, nominalizations, transitivity alternations, tense-aspect-modality, non-declarative speech acts, and complex sentence structure. The general approach is a typological-functional one, and many of the recurrent themes discussed in Tibeto-Burman studies over the years occur also in Kham. The Tibeto-Burman verb, for example, has long been recognized as displaying 'noun-like' characteristics, and there is evidence to suggest what might be called a 'verb-noun-verb cycle' in many Tibeto-Burman languages. Significantly, the Kham verb has two distinct paradigms; one a regular, finite paradigm and the other a nominalized paradigm. The nominalized verb occurs not only in embedded structures like complements, but also in non-embedded, stand-alone structures with special discourse functions.

The twin paradigms in Kham account for a number of distinctive typological features. Kham, for example, has an elaborate system of person and number agreement patterns in the verb, which, when compared with other Tibeto-Burman languages having such systems, appears to be aberrant and typologically exceptional. Comparative evidence from other Kham dialects, however, shows that the patterns of agreement for Proto-Kham are the same as those posited for Tibeto-Burman in general.

Old accretions of nominal morphology on nominalized verbs, along with reanalysis and analogical leveling has produced the modern patterns in Takale Kham. Kham, then, is key in helping us understand the role of nominalizations in the grammaticalization of certain morphological patterns found throughout the language family.

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REPORT

[Editor's note: Conference Reports are now normally published in NOLx's sister publication, the electronic newsletter *LingBits*, where this report first appeared. The *NOLx* Editor and the contributor of this report consider that Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) bears greater attention in *NOLx*, especially for the benefit of field linguists who may be unfamiliar with it.]

3rd International Lexical Functional Grammar Conference

30 June - 2 July 1998, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia

Report by Paul Kroeger
SIL-Malaysia Branch and Director Asia-SIL

Approximately 60 people participated in this conference which follows similar conferences in Grenoble, France (1996) and San Diego (1997). Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) grew out of the work of Joan Bresnan and Ron Kaplan at MIT in the late 1970's, partly in response to psycholinguistic research which challenged the psychological reality of transformational rules. The key insight of this framework is that different types of syntactic information must be encoded in separate and distinct types of structures. These must include at least the following: (1) Phrase Structure (or Constituent Structure) for information about word order and constituency; (2) Functional Structure for information about grammatical relations, features such as case and agreement, and grammaticized discourse functions such as Topic and Focus; and (3) Argument Structure, which encodes those aspects of the semantics which are directly relevant to various syntactic processes. None of these structures is derived from the others. Rather, all three exist as simultaneous descriptions of a construction, or constraints which the construction must satisfy. Units in any one of these structures are related to units in the other structures by correspondences, or mapping rules, which are defined by the grammar; but these rules do not define a one-to-one mapping.

The resulting system allows enough flexibility to provide natural accounts of such difficult descriptive problems as radical non-configurationality, multiple case marking on a single NP, syntactic ergativity, and complex Philippine-type voice systems. At the same time, the non-transformational nature of the formalism constrains the mathematical complexity of the grammars it can express, allowing LFG to be readily implemented by computer.

LFG98 provided a good sample of the range of current research being carried out within this framework. There were a number of papers dealing with issues in computational linguistics and machine translation. Many others focused on descriptive problems in 'exotic' languages, including

Sinhala, Balinese, Tongan, Choctaw, Welsh, and several Australian Aboriginal languages. Of course there were a number of papers dealing with standard issues in theoretical syntax, including reflexive binding, complex predicates and serial verbs, verb-second and related phenomena, causative constructions, etc. Several papers dealt with the application of Optimality Theory to syntax within the LFG framework, including Joan Bresnan's contribution 'Pidgin Genesis in Optimality Theory'.

The second and third afternoons of the conference were devoted to workshops on Austronesian and Chinese, respectively. The Austronesian workshop in particular generated a great deal of discussion, which was continued over the next few days in papers presented by Peter Austin, Barry Blake, and several others at the Australian Linguistic Society meetings—also held at the University of Queensland.

A focal point for the discussion was a radical new proposal by William Foley for the analysis of Philippine-type voice systems. These systems are a problem for most syntactic frameworks because the alternations involved cannot be described as either passives or anti-passives. Rather, these languages exhibit several different voice categories—all of them transitive. In other words, promoting one argument to subject does not entail demoting some other argument to oblique status. Such non-demoting voice alternations have been described in other Western Austronesian languages as well, including Balinese, Sasak, Toba Batak, and even (according to the paper presented by Arka and Manning) Indonesian. Foley's basic proposal is that roots in these languages are stored in the lexicon with no specification for syntactic category (N vs. V) and no inherent argument structure. When a voice-marking affix is added to one of these roots, it simultaneously acquires a category (V), an argument structure, and a specification for subject selection. Whether the details of this proposal can be made to work remains to be seen, but the amount of interest which it generated is an indication of the difficulty of the problem it addresses.

Most of the papers from this conference can be seen at: http://www.sultry.arts.usyd.edu.au/LFG98. Papers from previous LFG conferences are available at: http://www-csli.stanford.edu/publications/. More information about LFG is available at: http://clwww.essex.ac.uk/LFG/. The next LFG conference will be held in 1999 at the University of Manchester, in England. In the year 2000, the conference will be held at U.C. Berkeley.

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Reviews

Studies in anaphora. By BARBARA FOX, editor. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 1996. 530 pp. Cloth $115.00, paper $34.95.

Reviewed by SHERRI BRAINARD
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This volume is a collection of fourteen papers on ANAPHORA, broadly defined by Fox (page viii) in her introduction as 'those morpho-syntactic forms available to speakers for formulating reference'. The studies investigate a wide range of issues concerning anaphora—building upon research in reference-tracking conducted in the 1980's by Du Bois 1980, Givón 1983, Fox 1980, and Chafe 1980, and employ different types of data and methods of analysis.

The papers cover an eclectic range of topics in anaphora, such as the historical development of anaphoric devices (Frajzyngier, Klein-Andreu, and Mithun), the acquisition of anaphoric strategies in children (Clancy), cognitive analyses of anaphora (Kibrik, Langacker, Tao, and Cumming and Ono), typologies of anaphoric devices (Abraham and Himmelmann), anaphoric devices in narrative discourse (Lichtenberk), and anaphoric devices in conversation (Ford and Fox, Downing, and Schegloff).

Of particular interest for those readers engaged in translation work are papers by Himmelman and Lichtenberk. In his discussion of demonstratives, Himmelman begins by noting that although various functions have been identified for demonstratives in discourse, no attempt has been made to identify those functions that are universal and those that are language specific. To address this issue, Himmelman offers a preliminary typology of universal functions of demonstratives in discourse, focusing mainly on the function of demonstratives when they occur as adjectives rather than nouns.

Himmelman identifies four functions of demonstratives that appear to be universally attested in languages: SITUATIONAL USE, DISCOURSE DEICTIC USE, TRACKING USE, AND RECOGNITIONAL USE. Situational use serves to locate an object in space. Discourse deictic use serves to point backward or forward to events or propositions in a discourse. Tracking use enables the hearer to keep track of what is happening to whom. Recognitional use serves as a reminder by the speaker to the hearer that they share certain specific information or an experience which the speaker is about to mention. The speaker, however, is uncertain that the hearer will be able to correctly identify a referent associated with that information and indicates that he is willing to expand on the point in order to help the hearer identify the

referent. The first three of these functions are well-known from earlier studies of demonstratives; however, recognitional use has previously received relatively little attention. Himmelman discusses each function at length, providing examples from a range of languages.

Lichtenberk considers the problem of how to select an appropriate anaphoric device in Tóabáita narrative discourse: full NPs, independent personal pronouns, and dependent pronominals which consist of a subject/tense verb affix, an object verb affix, and possessive affixes. (Zero anaphora is a fourth strategy, but occurs only rarely in Tóabáita narrative and so is ignored for the study.) Of these, full NPs and dependent pronominals occur most often.

The selection of one of these strategies at a given point in a narrative discourse is determined by two general factors: degree of accessibility of the referent and internal structuring of the discourse. Accessibility of referent is assumed to correlate with the number of clauses that intervene between the present mention of the referent and the last previous mention. In general, a referent with a low degree of accessibility will require the use of a full NP, while one with a high degree of accessibility will require the use of a dependent pronominal. Internal structuring of a discourse involves the presence or absence of discontinuities, such as episodic changes, shifts in location, direct speech, or a change of grammatical subject (which usually indicates a change of local or global theme). If a major discontinuity occurs, a full NP is used for a known referent, even when only a few clauses separate its present mention from the previous mention. If no major discontinuity occurs, then either independent pronouns or dependent pronominals are used for successive mentions of a known referent even over long stretches of text.

A notable feature of anaphor in Tóabáita narrative discourse is second mention of a referent, a feature that received no special status in earlier studies of anaphora. Anaphoric coding of second mentions displays two patterns: one that follows first mentions of referents and another that follows non-first mentions. When a referent is mentioned a second time in a clause immediately following any mention other than first mention, a dependent pronominal strategy is used for 80 percent of all tokens. On the other hand, when a referent is mentioned a second time in a clause immediately following the first mention, two anaphoric strategies may be used: full NP (44 percent of all tokens) or dependent pronominal (50 percent of all tokens). If the referent is thematically important, either locally or globally, a full NP strategy is used. On the other hand, if the referent is not thematically important, a dependent pronominal strategy is used.

Other papers included in the volume are:

Werner Abraham: The discourse-referential and typological motivaton of pronominal procliticization vs. encliticization
Patricia Clancy: Referential strategies and the co-construction of argument structure in Korean acquisition
Susanna Cumming and Tsuyoshi Ono: Ad hoc hierarchy: Lexical structures for reference in Consumer Reports articles
Pamela Downing: Proper names as a referential option in English conversation
Cecilia Ford and Barbara Fox: Interactional motivations for reference formulation: He had. This guy had, a beautiful, thirty-two Olds
Zygmunt Frajzyngier: On sources of demonstratives and anaphors
Nikolaus Himmelmann: Demonstratives in narrative discourse: A taxonomy of universal uses
Andrej Kibrik: Anaphora in Russian narrative prose: A cognitive calculative account
Flora Klein-Andreu: Anaphora, deixis, and the evolution of Latin Ille
Ronald Langacker: Conceptual grouping and pronominal anaphora
Marianne Mithun: New directions of referentiality
Emanuel Schegloff: Some practices for referring to persons in talk-in-interaction: A partial sketch of a systematics
Liang Tao: Topic discontinuity and zero anaphora in Chinese discourse: Cognitive strategies in discourse processing.

As usual for a John Benjamins volume, the articles are well edited.

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Studies in Stemmatology. By PIETER VAN REENEN and MARGOT VAN MULKEN, eds. 1996. Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 311 pp. Cloth $79.00.

Reviewed by ALAN BUSEMAN
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Stemmatology is the study of variant versions of manuscripts with a primary goal of finding by analysis the most likely wording of the original. This book discusses some of the more recent developments in the field, many of which have come about by the application of computers. The book is a

collection of ten articles by researchers who work in the field. The articles vary a great deal in subject matter and approach, but this can be a strength if one is searching for useful methodologies. I reviewed this book in hopes that its methods might apply to historical linguistics and the generation of proto-forms, and possibly to relating modern languages to each other for the purposes of computer assisted related language adaptation. I did not find a great deal of direct help from the book in those areas, but I did find a great deal of encouragement toward using the computer to search for patterns and to test correlations. The computer brings the possibility of rapidly searching for patterns and verifying hypotheses in ways that were never before possible. We have only begun to scratch the surface of the many ways this could help our linguistic research. Books like this open our eyes to the possibilities. Anyone with an interest in the field of manuscript traditions could enjoy and benefit from the fresh perspectives presented in this book. It will not interest most field linguists.

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Towards a reference grammar of Tok Pisin: An experiment in corpus linguistics. BY JOHN W. M. VERHAAR. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 26. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1995. 490 pp. Paper $38.00.

Reviewed by KARL J. FRANKLIN
SIL—Vice President for Academic Affairs, Dallas

John Verhaar is a Jesuit priest and retired professor of linguistics and philosophy who has taught in the Philippines, Indonesia, Japan, the U.S., and Papua New Guinea (PNG). His study is based on an analysis of over 1,600,000 words drawn from published sources (hence his sub-title referring to 'corpus linguistics'), such as various self-help books and booklets, but mainly the 1979 edition of the Tok Pisin New Testament and Psalms and the 1989 edition of the Bible (both published by the Bible Society of Papua New Guinea). For a number of years he worked in PNG so he has also recorded materials of his own and consulted with other Tok Pisin specialists.

The style throughout is pedagogical, using English when discussing grammatical notions and Tok Pisin for the analysis and examples. Verhaar has the citizens of PNG in mind—those who are 'interested in consulting a detailed grammar of Tok Pisin' (xvii). His assumptions about grammar follow the functionalist approach as explicated by Givón 1979.

Verhaar has written a Tok Pisin grammar that far surpasses any other previously published source (such as Hall 1943, Mihalic 1971, or Wurm and

Mühlhäusler 1985). This assessment is mainly due to the exhaustiveness of the grammar, with 24 chapters of detailed comments, analysis, and examples on the morphology and syntax of Tok Pisin. These include items of specific syntactic interest—such as Clauses and their constituents (Ch. 4), Negative clauses (5), Interrogative clauses (6), Simple Predicates (7), Serial complex predicates (8-10), Relative clauses (14), Verbs and transitivity (18), and Complex sentences (24).

Because the materials are drawn primarily from published sources, it is impossible to know the exact dialects represented, but Verhaar assures us that the variety represented is the 'virtual standard' of Tok Pisin (3). This assumption begs the question, however, because it does not consider how basilects influence the type of Tok Pisin that is spoken in many other localities. It also gives acceptance to the general notion that the coastal variety of Tok Pisin spoken around Madang should be the standard. Although this is the accepted standard in many Tok Pisin studies, it ignores the way non-Melanesian speakers are influenced by their mother tongue. As shown in Franklin (1980), for example, Highland speakers, use the particle *i* in particular ways to mark co-reference, a feature which differs strikingly with Melanesian speakers.

The so-called morphology of Tok Pisin described by Verhaar consists of a small inventory of about four suffixes, if one counts his *-an* (*go-an* and *kam-an*, 'go on!' and 'come on!'), which occurs only in exclamations. The two suffixes which have traditionally been treated in Tok Pisin grammar are *-im* and *-pela*, the former occurring with verbs to denote some kind of transitivity or control and the later generally described as some sort of adjectival marker. Here Verhaar follows Faraclas (1990) by considering Tok Pisin to have no adjectives and that *-pela* is derivational, marking noun modifiers, pronouns, and nominalization.

Verhaar's analysis of *i* as a predicate marker demonstrates that it functions additionally as progressive, impersonal, and a type of pronominal referential marker—as well as linking verbs in serial constructions and marking identical subjects in successive clauses (covered mainly in Ch. 7).

The treatment of tense-aspect-mode analyzes *bin* as 'anterior', *bai* as 'future' or 'purposive', *pinis* as 'process finished', *stap* as 'progressive' or 'durative', *save* as 'habitual', *traim* as 'conative', i.e. an 'attempt to do what the follow-up verb represents' (322).

Modal auxiliaries include *inap* 'sufficient', *ken* 'possibility/permission', *laik* 'desire', *mas* 'duty/inevitability', *no* 'negation', as well as the 'imperative' as unmarked, 'iterative' as reduplication, and 'reflexive' as verb + *-im* (335). In Verhaar's analysis each modal has in common the feature that it may be

followed by *i* before a number of core constituents (136-7). Here the analysis is obviously functional (rather than strictly formal), in that only the first four have forms that represent auxiliaries in most Tok Pisin studies.

Verhaar concludes that there are four classifiers in Tok Pisin: *hap*, which refers to items that are arbitrarily divisible; *kain*, for sorts of things or species; *kiau* for tablets (of medicine); and *lain*, for groups of people or objects. Classifiers may represent a very old stage of Pidgin influence in that Chinese Pidgin also had a set of classifiers.

In summary, Verhaar has produced a wealth of observations on Tok Pisin grammar, particularly its syntax. My only quibble is with many of his translations of the Tok Pisin examples:

p.34 (28) *Sik asma i save painim painim sampela manmeri tasol, na **arapela** i no gat.*
'Asthma will now and then afflict only some people, not others.'

I would prefer 'Asthma keeps on reoccurring with certain people, but others never get it'. My translation underscores Verhaar's analysis that reduplication is iterative, instead of 'now and then'.

p. 61 (21) ***Husat tru** bai i go?* 'Who is going anyway?'

I translate this as 'Really, who will go?' which helps to underscore how *tru* modifies *husat*.

p. 125 (9) *Ating wanpela samting i bin kamap long em na em i no klin long ai bilong God?*
'Could something have happened to him so that he is not clean?'

I would translate this as a declarative with an element of doubt: 'Perhaps something happened to him and now he is not clean in God's sight.'

Quibbling over translations is part of the pleasure and frustration of Tok Pisin. We might better ask: 'Do these illustrate the grammar as analyzed?' which is what glosses and translations are supposed to do. For the most part Verhaar's do the job. However, in Tok Pisin there is considerable freedom expected and necessary in the translation if we are to reflect the grammatical categories and the way in which the text may actually be interpreted. Unfortunately the written translations of Tok Pisin make the semantic interpretation seem more absolute than is really possible.

Despite this problem and a number of typographical errors, we can be grateful to Father Verhaar for this excellent work and insistence on making it practical and useful for the people of PNG.

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Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists. By THOMAS E. PAYNE. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. 413 pp. Hardback $64.95, paper $24.95.

Reviewed by AUSTIN HALE
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This book is a most welcome guide, addressed to field linguists who are engaged in writing the grammar of a language from a functional-typological perspective. Payne states that the prime motivation for writing such grammars is the likelihood that half of the world's 6000 languages will become extinct within the next hundred years. It focuses on topics that should be addressed in describing a language, and as such will be directly useful to the field linguist. It could be advantageous at least in the early stages of one's work on morphosyntax, as a kind of illustrated typological questionnaire.

The chapter headings are immediately usable as an initial outline for organizing morphosyntactic data from early in a language project. They are:

1. Demographic and ethnographic information
2. Morphological typology
3. Grammatical categories
4. Constituent order typology
5. Noun and noun-phrase operations
6. Predicate nominals and related constructions
7. Grammatical relations
8. Voice and valence adjusting operations
9. Other verb and verb-phrase operations

10. Pragmatically marked structures
11. Clause combinations
12. Conclusions: the language in use

Each chapter is broken down into manageable topics that can also be used as part of the initial outline.

Under most topics Payne gives a useful array of helps: (a) definitions of descriptive terms in a form intelligible to linguists of most, if not all, theoretical persuasions; (b) examples of how different languages behave within the topic area, exposing at least the tip of the typological iceberg; (c) references to the literature relevant to the topic for the reader who wants to go deeper; (d) cross-references to related topics discussed elsewhere in the outline; and (e) questions that prod the reader to investigate how the language under study works in this topic area.

In Appendix 2 there is a list of some 52 reference grammars drawn from six major language areas: Africa, Asia, Amerindian, Australia, Austronesia, and Papuan languages. In addition to this, grammars of Hebrew, Turkish, Breton, and Basque are included in a seventh, miscellaneous, category.

These grammars have been selected as good examples of grammars from which reliable information about the languages described can be gleaned quickly and without frustration. A panel of linguists who regularly consult such works made the selection. If one has access to these volumes then one has access to various alternative outlines and terminological sets from which to choose in constructing one's own grammar outline. Having a whole range of excellent grammars available as models in the formative stages when a field worker is in the midst of deciding what to call things and how to organize things can be immensely helpful. SIL Branches would be well advised to acquire the relevant grammars from this list for their libraries, if they do not already have them.

By limiting the focus to the description of morphosyntax, the paperback version of this book is kept both portable and affordable. This book is an excellent starting point for the study of morphosyntax. It makes it possible for a field worker to make significant descriptive contributions with the data at hand without paying the high cost now required to make contributions of a more theoretical nature. It gives a beginning outline within which to organize one's analysis. It gives context-sensitive help on lots of issues and points to the current literature for more help where needed. On this research scenario one starts with the description of numerous small topics and pursues them to their typological conclusions with the excellent help given here.

I would rate this book highly as an important part of a practical strategy for writing the description of the morphosyntax of a field language. I have

received two unelicited comments from colleagues for whom I have very high respect as linguists. One of them said that this was his favorite bedtime reading. He found it fascinating to consider how the language he was studying worked as he read the book section by section. The other was about to leave for a village sojourn during which he was committed to write up a substantial portion of the grammar when the book arrived in the library. He saw it as just the kind of help he needed at that time and took the book along. (SIL Branch libraries may want to consider ordering multiple copies of the book. Field linguists who have yet to write up a description of morphosyntax may want their own copies.) In reading through three chapters of his manuscript shortly thereafter I would have to say that what he produced was very well done indeed.

The book, appropriately used, could greatly facilitate the writing of a generation of readable grammars, and through its modular approach it could make the field linguist's task far less daunting than it otherwise would have been.

Physically the book is nicely printed and bound. I did not find any misprints.

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Grammar and Meaning: Essays in honor of Sir John Lyons. By F. R. PALMER, editor. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. 265 pp. Hardback $59.95

Reviewed by E. LOU HOHULIN
SIL—International Linguistics Coordinator, Dallas

This book is a Festschrift for John Lyons. The editor, F. R. Palmer, has brought together a group of papers, which have a clearly recognizable theme that is associated with the honoree. Palmer does not discuss the individual papers in the preface, as is common with a Festschrift; instead Lyons, in a paper with the same title as the book, relates the papers of the various authors to his own work. For that reason, except for a brief summary at the end, I have chosen to reflect Lyons' thinking about the content of the papers rather than my own.

R.M.W. Dixon in his paper 'Complement clauses and complementation strategies' addresses the idea that grammar exists to code meaning. He believes that every language has a similar set of semantic tasks to fulfil. Each language draws a selection of grammatical construction types from a universal pool, and according to the selection that is made, a similar type of meaning may be expressed by different grammatical means in different

languages. Dixon illustrates his analytical framework and substantiates his claims with English, Fijian, and Dyirbal data.

Lyons, in his comments on Dixon's paper, says that he does not believe that grammatical structure is fully determined by meaning and does not believe that Dixon's analysis undermines the methodological validity of the post-Bloomfieldian principle of the separation of levels. He also says that he does not subscribe to the view held by many post-Bloomfieldian linguists that semantic analysis must necessarily follow an 'ideal' complete grammatical analysis of a language without regard to semantic considerations.

Adam Kilgarriff and Gerald Gazdar, in a paper entitled 'Polysemous relations', quote sections from Lyons' book *Semantics* that deal with homonymy and polysemy and his claim that the use of a componential analysis technique fails to explicate relatedness of meaning. They dispute the idea that a technique for analyzing components of meaning and their relatedness between the senses of words cannot systematically explain polysemy. The major portion of their paper describes a project, which uses a form of componential analysis to reduce what some linguists have called 'irregular polysemy'. They find this relatedness of meaning by using a lexical descriptive language developed by computational linguists.

Lyons agrees with many of their points, and then says, regarding the main point of disagreement (228):

> What is at issue, in what I have written on componential analysis, is whether a) it can be used to describe all areas of the vocabulary satisfactorily and b) the components are universal, rather than language-specific. Componential analysis can certainly handle some part of the meaning of some lexemes and some of the sense relations among (and within) lexemes. So too, however, can meaning-postulates. At the end of the day it may well be simply a question of notational variation and the historical provenance of what are often presented as alternative and conflicting ways of handling data. Kilgarriff & Gazdar are especially concerned to construct a computationally tractable model of the language system.

'Fields, networks and vectors' is a thoughtful paper written by Adrienne Lehrer and Keith Lehrer. The two authors use the metaphor of vectors to 'explain how reference is determined by a variety of factors which include sense as a central determinant' (26). The factors discussed in the paper are pragmatics, truth conditions, indeterminacy (relative to prototype theory), appealing to experts, appealing to possible worlds, semantic change, semantic networks, and semantic fields. Essentially, Lehrer and Lehrer are suggesting a model of sense, reference and interpretation of a word as an aggregation of input vectors.

Lyons has always been concerned about the 'philosophical underpinnings' of linguistics and believes that there is an increased philosophical sophistication among linguists today. His comment about the Lehrer and Lehrer paper reflects his feeling (230).

> It is gratifying...to have in the present volume a broadranging article written jointly by a linguist and a philosopher, Adrienne Lehrer and Keith Lehrer. It is all the more gratifying in that I find myself wholly sympathetic to its aims and in full agreement with all the points of substance that are made in it.... what they refer to as 'the metaphor of vectors' has an intuitive plausibility and is clearly worth developing further.

Ruth Kempson's paper 'Natural-language interpretation as labelled natural deduction' is a description of a formal, logical model of reasoning. Kempson advocates (61)

> ...a proof-theoretic account of interpretation in which natural-language expressions are seen as providing the encoded input to a process of interpretation which builds structure via a process of deduction. The information an individual expression conveys is information about how to build structured configurations, which constitute the interpretation of the string in which the expression is contained. The structures that result from this process are linked, labelled databases set within a logic framework defining inference over complex databases.

Lyons says the following about Kempson's paper (234-5):

> I can as readily accept what Ruth Kempson has to say in her overtly 'God's truth' contribution to this volume as I can accept what Matthews and other contributors (who are either agnostic or less definitely committed in this respect) say in theirs.

He goes on to say that he would

> invite her to be rather more explicit than she is about sentences, expressions, denotational (as distinct from referential), ambiguity, etc., and about the difference between intrinsically encoded information (in contrast with the information that is conveyed by the use of an expression on particular occasions of utterance). I would also wish to take issue with her, of course, on her implicit restriction of linguistic semantics to the work of what has been, historically, only one school or movement...

The Gricean distinction between generalized and particularized implicatures is the focus of Stephen C. Levinson's paper entitled 'Three levels of meaning'. He believes the distinction between generalized and particularized implicatures forces us to recognize two major levels of a theory of meaning, semantics and pragmatics, and a distinction within pragmatics between utterance-type meaning and utterance-token meaning.

In differentiating utterance-type and utterance-token meaning, he refers to Grice's work in differentiating between particularized and generalized conversational implicatures. He believes that the concept of generalized conversational implicatures is important to linguistic analysis (93).

> Its utility lies precisely in the idea that certain linguistic expressions will tend to be associated with specific pragmatic inferences across a broad range of contexts, so that these associated inferences can be predicted in a systematic way, and play a systematic role in shaping patterns of lexicalisation and grammaticalisation. The overall picture of a general theory of communication that then emerges is rather different from the standard picture. According to the standard line, there are just two levels to a theory of linguistic communication, a level of sentence-meaning (to be explicated by the theory of grammar in the broad sense) and a level of speaker-meaning (to be explicated by a theory of pragmatics)...What it omits is a third layer, intermediate between coded meaning and nonce speaker-meaning, what we may call the level of 'statement- or utterance-type-meaning'. This third layer is a level of systematic pragmatic inference based not on direct computations about speaker-intentions, but rather on general expectations about how language is normally used. These expectations give rise to presumptions, default inferences, about both content and force; and it is at this level (if at all) that we can sensibly talk about speech acts, presuppositions, felicity conditions, conversational pre-sequences, preference organisation and, of especial concern to us, generalised conversational implicatures.

Lyons is detailed in his analysis of the Levinson paper, and in general, believes there is plausibility in his claims and arguments. He sees in Levinson's work a relationship to information-theoretic studies of communication and Firth's work in semantics. He then says (239):

> What is original of course in Levinson's work and in that of others who adopt the same paradigm [Gricean and neo-Gricean pragmatics—reviewer's insertion] is its philosophical sophistication and its potentially greater explanatory adequacy.

Peter Matthews is the author of a paper entitled 'Syntax, semantics and pragmatics'. In this paper, Matthews is questioning whether the three terms in the title are 'real distinctions' in linguistics or if they have simply become a part of the 'institutional structure of linguistics'. He briefly describes the history that resulted in the separation of syntax and semantics, and indicates that it has been largely due to Bloomfield's followers, and their successor Chomsky. He then addresses the distinction that has been made between semantics and pragmatics. He describes two main views of pragmatics: the distinction Bloomfield made between 'linguistic meaning' and 'further meanings that a form might have when uttered' and 'Kempson, among others, who saw pragmatics as a theory of communication' (50). In either

case, Matthews feels that these are attempts to defend a semantic theory that deals with sentence meanings in abstraction from the context of utterance. Matthews argues rather brilliantly that we ought to question these three distinctions since they were made on the basis of structuralist methodology which had a fundamental assumption that implied that 'each linguistic form has a constant and specific meaning'.

Lyons states (231):

> I certainly agree (with Matthews) that the separation of levels, and in particular the separation of grammar from semantics and semantics from pragmatics is the product of methodological decisions taken by certain linguists and does not necessarily reflect psychological (or any other kind of) reality. But relatively little is known so far about the structure of language systems from a psychological (or cognitive) point of view; and I do not think that descriptive linguistics should be seriously constrained, in this respect, by considerations of psychological, or cognitive, reality. Hence my continued commitment to (so-called) autonomous linguistics.

Jim Miller in his paper 'Does spoken language have sentences' argues that many linguists working on spoken language have abandoned the sentence as an analytic unit as a result of studying transcribed text. In spoken texts, clauses are easily recognized because a verb and its complements is easily ecognized, but text-sentences are hard to distinguish. He says (116-117):

> ...one reply to the objection is that the system-sentences employed by linguists need not correspond to text-sentences. System-sentences are postulated by linguists in order to handle distribution and dependency relations, and should be retained if this goal is achieved.

Miller believes that sentences are learned through the process of reading and writing, and are taught to the majority of language-users, whereas clauses are acquired without specific teaching. According to Miller, characteristics of clauses and sentences bear on other issues, such as whether a given language system is independent of the medium in which it is realized. He believes that if sentences are to be admitted as units of written but not spoken language, the next step is to analyze written and spoken language as having different language systems (118).

Lyons thinks that Miller's argument that clauses, rather than sentences, are the basic units of syntax (and especially of government and dependency) is irrefutable if language systems are considered independently of the medium in which the forms of the language (i.e. the forms of expressions) are realized. He says that he now thinks that there is good reason to treat language systems in this way. He also says that he would now agree with Miller that

(if one retains the traditional concept of the sentence) sentences are best defined in terms of clauses, rather than conversely. Later, he states (236):

> Apart from other considerations and independently of the generality and validity of his main thesis, Miller usefully reminds us of the powerful influence that has been, and still is, exerted on linguistic theory by the normative and literary prejudices of traditional grammar.

Lyons seems to indicate that he agrees with Miller in his assertion that theoretically minded linguists should take more seriously the possibility that such concepts as word and sentence are relevant in the description of some, but not all, languages and may also be, to some degree medium-dependent and style-dependent. He goes on to say, however (236):

> I would not too swiftly accept his (apparent) conclusion, that, because there is very little evidence to support either text-sentences or system-sentences in spontaneous spoken language (in respect of the languages he refers to), there is no reason to postulate sentences as theoretical constructs in an overall medium-neutral and style-neutral description of some, if not all, language systems.

Peter Trudgill authored the paper 'Grammaticalisation and social structure: non-standard conjunction-formation in East Anglian English'. Trudgill examines the grammaticalization process that involves the regrammaticalization of nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjuncts as conjunctions, with the reduction in lexical-semantic content in East Anglian English. He suggests that grammaticalization has occurred because of phonological reduction. (137) He discusses the effect that social network structure may have on the rate of linguistic change and the type of linguistic change. He believes that widespread development of new conjunctions is probably much more common in small, rural communities than is the case in the more non-standard varieties of urban areas, or in standardized varieties. He says (146):

> The suggestion is that the fact that this sort of development appears to be so productive in these particular dialects is due to the greater tendency to phonological reduction that is characteristic of the dialects of those communities which have dense, multiplex social networks and which also have relatively few contacts with other, outside communities.

Lyons found Trudgill's contribution interesting in the light of Levinson's distinction in pragmatics between 'utterance type' and 'utterance token'. He considers the two linguists to be operating in two different branches of linguistics and in two quite different paradigms. Yet he says (240):

> They are both concerned with (amongst other things) the way in which expressions (or rather, one or more of their forms) can be grammaticalised (and in the limit desemanticised) diachronically as a result of contextually determined, and thus predictable, use. And they both pray in aid in their

> explanation of their, prima facie, very different data, the same kind of cybernetic, or information-theoretic, notions as were more generally invoked by linguists in the 1950s... Their rehabilitation [referring to information-theoretic notions] within the framework of more satisfactory models of the structure and use of language is very much to be welcomed.

The focus of Bernard Comrie's paper 'German Perfekt and Prateritum: speculations on meaning and interpretation' is an analytical approach that carefully delimits the contribution of semantics and of pragmatics to the overall interpretation of a linguistic form. He illustrates his approach with an analysis of German *Perfekt* and the *Prateritum*, the two major verb forms used with past time reference in German. He states (149):

> In most previous approaches to the Perfekt/Prateritum opposition, the general line of analysis has been to isolate the interpretations that the two forms can have in different contexts...to present these interpretations as the informal analysis, perhaps proceeding to a further stage of formalising these interpretations... This line of analysis, moreover, tends to lead to analyses where the same verbal form is given different analyses depending on particular contexts. While I do not deny that in certain circumstances it may be necessary to recognise that a single morphological category has more than one meaning, general considerations of economy suggest that such analyses should be dispreferred to those that provide a single semantic characterisation, other things being equal. In this paper, therefore, I try to find a single characterisation that covers all, or at least as wide a range as possible, of the differences between the Perfekt and the Prateritum.

His approach is characterized in his description of the two verb forms (152):

> ...the German Prateritum denotes a past situation and explicitly instructs the addressee not to seek to relate it through continuing relevance to the present moment. The Perfekt, by contrast, is neutral with respect to continuing relevance, and is thus the only form appropriate where the speaker does not wish to exclude continuing relevance... It is conceivable that there may be other additional factors. Indeed, I will argue below that the two are also distinguished by the nature of the reference point, which is freer in the case of the Perfekt than in the case of the Prateritum.

About Comrie's approach, Lyons says (240):

> ...I certainly agree with Comrie's methodological commitment to the principle of going as far as one can with system-valid notions of *Gesamtbedeutung* and markedness and, by throwing the burden of accounting for context-dependent interpretations on to pragmatic notions such as relevance, avoiding the multiplication of meanings assigned to particular tenses and aspects. Personally, I would also have welcomed the introduction into the discussion of the possibility that subjectivity, or experientiality, also plays a role in the interpretation of utterances containing perfect or past-tense forms.

'The possessed' by John Anderson is a paper which attempts to carefully distinguish between concord and rection. Anderson indicates that rection has been traditionally labelled as 'government'. He does not consider that label to be fortuitous given the differentiation needed as a basis for dependency assignment. He formulates the traditional characterization of concord and rection as follows (162):

> Concord and rection both involve the assignment of a value (term) for a morphological category or categories to a victim word by a trigger or controller. Traditionally, they are differentiated, roughly, in terms of the substantive role of the trigger.

He takes the traditional distinction as his starting point, and refines the distinction between concord and rection in terms of the dependency relation that holds between victim and trigger, and uses dependency principles (including a counter-dependency principle) as a framework for determining concord and rection. He uses examples from Old English, English, Makonde and Hausa to illustrate his framework.

Lyons pays a tribute to Anderson by saying that he (240-1):

> has for many years... been pursuing his own individual research programme, informed by a rare understanding both of traditional dependency grammar... and of modern generative grammar and by a sound training in philology. His contribution to the present volume is but one of the many products of that programme which challenges apparently well established principles. All I can say in response to it (whilst acknowledging that his conclusions are indeed challenging) is that, given that he is concentrating on (so-called) possessive constructions to illustrate the possibility of a contradiction, or conflict of directionality, between concord and rection (or government), I find it surprising that he says nothing in this connection about the localist analysis of possessives and, within this framework, about the development of 'have' constructions out of (or into) adnominal locatives, which may then coexist in the same language with what are more exclusively possessives (in the traditionally broad sense of this term).

Lyons in his paper 'Grammar and meaning' chose to divide the issues addressed by the authors into answers to the three following questions.

1. Is the grammatical (and phonological) structure of natural languages determined by meaning (and, if so, how and to what degree)?
2. Is semantics a separate level of analysis on a par with grammar and phonology?
3. Is the structure (grammatical, phonological, semantic) which linguists claim to be describing really part of the language or is it an artefact of their theoretical and methodological decisions?

Besides suggesting how each paper related answers to the three questions, Lyons had another interesting perspective on the contributions to this volume. He believes that each author operates explicitly or implicitly with a distinction between semantics and pragmatics, though he felt that none of them apart from Stephen Levinson told us explicitly how they draw the distinction and whether it is for them a matter of fact, or of methodological commitment. He then states (235):

> I am myself committed, methodologically, to the view that, it is most profitably drawn in terms of a distinction between the meaning (non-propositional as well as propositional) that is encoded in sentences (and other expressions of the language system) and the meaning that is conveyed in utterance-tokens that are the product of the use of sentences (and other expressions) in particular contexts of situation. This is essentially how Levinson draws the distinction.

Reading and understanding the papers in this book was not an easy task. The broad-ranging perspectives, from formal semantics (Kempson's paper) to careful research on language use (Trudgill's paper), required reading them more than once. I consider the time invested worthwhile, and recommend the book to anyone seriously interested in the relationships of semantics, pragmatics and grammar.

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English for academic purposes: A guide and resource book for teachers.
By R. R. JORDAN. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. 404 pp.
Hardback $39.95, paper $22.95.

Reviewed by BERT REMIJSEN
Leiden University

Although the title might feed the assumption, this book has little or nothing to say about the English language. Apparently, *English for academic purposes* (EAP) is a general methodological discipline with the objective to support students to become confident participants in the academic community. This includes being able to speak in public, consult libraries, acquire study skills (e.g. how to make notes). Obviously the scope of EAP is far beyond teaching some standard for the English language.

Therefore it is surprising that the author limits the perspective to English—it might just as well be named *Communication for Academic Purposes*, as the study skills discussed befit any scholar or scientist. Since English is the most important language in science, there will be no objection to this.

In its day, Latin was the language of international communication, and its teaching encompassed much more than language learning—it was an initiation to the intellectual community. The emergence of EAP follows from a comparable situation. Because of the international role of English, it has evolved to cover aspects of communication that have nothing to do with English.

Jordan covers a wide variety of teaching approaches and consistently discusses experimental/correlational research to evaluate them. Accompanied by an extensive bibliography, indexes, and relevant appendixes, this volume is a comprehensive state-of-the-art publication in its field and constitutes a reference guide as well as being an inspiration for teachers.

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E-mail: remijsen@rullet.LeidenUniv.nl] ■

EDITORIAL BOARD APPOINTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTICS CONSULTANT

SIL International Linguistics Consultant, Gary Simons, has been invited to serve on the editorial board of a new journal *Markup Languages: Theory and Practice*, to be published by MIT Press. Dr. Simons is SIL's Academic Computing Coordinator.

This quarterly, peer-reviewed technical journal, to be initiated in early 1999, will be the first journal devoted to research, development, and practical applications of text markup for computer processing, management, manipulation, and display. Specific areas of interest include new syntaxes for generic markup languages; refinements to existing markup languages; theory of formal languages as applied to document markup; systems for mark-up; uses of markup for printing, hypertext, electronic display, content analysis, information reuse and repurposing, search and retrieval, and interchange; shared applications of markup languages; and techniques and methodologies for developing markup languages and applications of markup languages.

NEW BOOK BY AN INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTICS CONSULTANT

THOMAS, DAVID, ed. Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 15: Chamic Studies, 1998, ISBN 0 85883 465 0, iii+90pp. Softcover. A$31.80
Pacific Linguistics catalogue number, A-89. Pacific Linguistics. The Australian National University.

This volume presents papers on Chamic languages by Neil Baumgartner (Western Cham grammar), Robert Headley (Cham evidence from Khmer sound changes), Ernest Lee (Cat Gia Roglai), Keng-Fong Pang (the ethnonym Utsat), and Graham Thurgood (Austronesian and Mon-Khmer elements in Chamic vowels)

For further information via e-mail: mira.kwasik@coombs.anu.edu.au

Book Notices

Computer-Assisted Language Learning: Context and Conceptualization. By MICHAEL LEVY. New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. 298 pp. Cloth $65.00, paperback $26.00.

This book...should be a very useful reference tool for those involved in developing and using computer programs to augment language teaching and language learning. Michael Levy writes about the history, background, trends and developments of CALL [Computer-Assisted Language Learning] programs and materials, surveys CALL practitioners and suggests principles and guidelines for future development.... CALL includes facets of...Second Language Acquisition theories, psychology, artificial intelligence, computational linguistics, applied linguistics, software and hardware development.

[Reviewed by Jim Stahl *(SIL--Vanuatu Group)*, SIL, PO Box 174, Vila, Vanuatu. E-mail: jjstahl@vanuatu.com.vu]

For the full review (filesize 6k) send an e-mail message to mailserv@sil.org consisting only of the following line of text: SEND[LINGBIT]LB980606.RVW

Bare. By ALEXANDRA AIKHENVALD. München - Newcastle: Lincom Europa. [Languages of the world / Materials 100.] 1995. 57 pp.

Aikhenvald (A) has done an admirable job of putting much valuable information about a hitherto undescribed and now extinct language into a very small space. As is the case with several of the other sketches in this series, the publishers allowed numerous errors to make their way into print. A has become a leading scholar on the Arawakan language family, into which the Bare language is uncontroversially classified. A cites a 1988 work that noted nineteen Bare in Venezuela and 4 in Brazil, none of them fluent speakers. Her own data came from the last fluent speaker, who died in 1993. The 8.5 page section on phonology is more substantive, more packed with information than what I have observed in other LINCOM sketches. A notes that Bare demonstrates active typology (also known as split-S marking on intransitive verbs, or split-ergative marking). In Arawakan languages this is commonly encoded by the agreement (or cross-referencing) verb affixes.

[Reviewed by David Payne *(SIL —Peru Branch, Int'l Linguistics Department)*, 12852 CR 4165, Tyler TX 75704; E-mail: david_payne@sil.org]

For the full review (filesize 13k) send an e-mail message to mailserv@sil.org consisting only of the following line of text: SEND[LINGBIT]LB980616.RVW

NEW LINGUISTICS PUBLICATIONS FROM SIL

THE SOUNDS AND TONES OF KALAM KOHISTANI; WITH WORDLISTS AND TEXTS. Joan L.G. Baart.

This volume starts a new series "Studies in Languages of Northern Pakistan," published jointly by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the National Institute of Pakistan Studies in Islamabad. The series will include studies of the phonology, grammar, lexicon, and oral literature of Kalasha, Shina, Burushaski, and other languages of northern Pakistan. Kalam Kohistani (in the literature also known as Garwi or Bashkarik) belongs to the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan. The current volume presents a sketch of the sound system and tonal system of this language, based on recent fieldwork. It also makes a wordlist and text data available for further study.

SIL and National Institute of Pakistan Studies.
ISBN: 969-8023-03-8; 1997, xvi+128 pp., $12.00 (paper).

CASE GRAMMAR APPLIED. Walter A. Cook, S.J.

Dr. Walter Cook, S.J., is one of the promoters of the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics and author of numerous publications in linguistics. In CASE GRAMMAR THEORY (1989), the author described the Case Grammar models of Fillmore, Chafe, Anderson, Gruber, Jackendoff, and some tagmemicists as contrasting models within Case Grammar theory. In the present volume, intended as a companion volume to the previous one, we find a methodology for Case Grammar, tested in extended textual analysis including Ernest Hemingway's THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA.

SIL/UTA Publications in Linguistics 127
ISBN: 1-55671-046-1; 1998 xiii, 275 pp. $29.00 (paper)

THE DONG LANGUAGE IN GHIZHOU PROVINCE, CHINA. Long Yaohong and Zheng Guoqiao, translated from Chinese by D. Norman Geary

The Dong language is distinctive for its many tones. It is often referred to outside China as Kam and occupies a significant position in the Kam-Tai family of the Sino-Tibetan phylum. Long Yaohong and Zheng Guoqiao are recognized authorities on Dong language research. Mr. Long is a native speaker of Dong. He provides an introduction, touching on many aspects of Dong history, culture, and language, and a discussion of the grammar. Mr. Zheng supplies sections on phonology, lexicon, and orthography. The two authors jointly present a chapter on Dong dialects. The book as a whole represents the first comprehensive description of the Dong language available in English.

SIL/UTA Publications in Linguistics 126
ISBN: 1-55671-051-8; 1998 xvi, 272 pp. $29.00 (paper)

JOURNAL OF TRANSLATION AND TEXTLINGUISTICS, Vol. 10. Longacre, Robert E., ed.

- Nicholas A. Bailey. What's Wrong with My Word Order?
- Ethel E. Wallis. Mark's Goal-Oriented Plot Structure
- Julia Irene Dieterman. Participant Reference in Isthmus Mixe Narrative Discourse
- C. John Collins. Coherence in James 1:19-27

SIL. 1998 ISSN: 1055-4513; $7.95

VIETNAMESE CLASSIFIERS IN NARRATIVE TEXTS. Karen Ann Daley

Karen Daley leads the reader into what is perhaps the first discourse study of Vietnamese classifiers to date. After presenting a summary of classifiers and their function in languages of the world, she challenges the validity of regarding Vietnamese classifiers as simply fitting the prototypical pattern of phrase-level numeral classifiers. In Vietnamese several of the functions attributed to classifiers imply discourse relations, despite the prevailing assumption that their use is associated with the syntactic relations of phrases. A coherent pattern of classifier use becomes evident when they are observed in the larger syntactic environment of discourse. Daley uses discourse measurements of overall frequency, referential distance, and referential persistence and compares them with four criteria from a study of classifiers in White Hmong. The results in the present study indicate that the basic function of classifiers in Vietnamese discourse is referential—to mark salience.

SIL/UTA Publications in Linguistics 125; ISBN: 1-55671-021-6
1998 xii, 213 pp. $29.00 (paper)

MON-KHMER STUDIES: A JOURNAL OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN LANGUAGES VOL. 28. In Memoriam of William A. Smalley.

- Tones and voice quality in modern northern Vietnamese: Instrumental case studies, by Nguyen Van Loi and Jerold A. Edmondson
- Kyansittha and the Indic words in Myanmar from Mon, by Nai Pan Hla
- Affixes in Katu of the Lao P.D.R., by Nancy A. Costello
- An acoustic study of Battambang Khmer vowels, by Ratree Wayland
- Prepositional vs. directional coverbs in Vietnamese, by Sophana Srichampa
- Some Kam-Tai loan-words in Mon-Khmer languages, by Qin Xiaohang
- Expressing comparison in the Tai languages, by Lev N. Morev
- Numeral classifiers in Sgaw Karen, by Suriya Ratanakul
- Diachronic evolution of initial consonants in Buyang, by LI Jingfang and ZHOU Guoyan

SIL; ISSN: 0147-5207, viii+228 pp., 1998, $29.00 (paper)

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